Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-217 *9 November 1994*

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Berisha Answers Questions on Referendum Results

AU0811173194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 94

[News conference by President Sali Berisha at the Palace of Congresses in Tirana on 7 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified reporter] We still do not know the result of the referendum. If it turns out to be a no, where does President Berisha see the defects of that no?

[Berisha] It is very difficult for President Berisha to make an analysis of the problem, but in any case, to be frank, I prefer not to judge the people, but rather to obey them. I belong to that category of politicians who prefer to respect the people's will and verdict unhesitatingly.

[Unidentified reporter] If the majority of the population has voted yes for this draft constitution, how do you see the future of the approval of the constitution?

[Berisha] I think that if the people have said no to this referendum, the political forces should establish cooperation. Personally, I am, and will always remain, very interested in seeing that Albania has its own constitution.

[Unidentified reporter] What is your opinion as to what dominated during the electoral campaign—the political fight among parties or normal judicial logic for approving the constitution?

[Berisha] I have been deeply involved in this campaign and I do not think I have waged a political fight against individuals or parties. I have made every effort to turn the constitution into a law dear to Albanians, or to contribute to making it so. I do not think that the vote on the draft is related only to the draft. I do not exclude, here, defects in constitutional principles; at the same time, neither do I exclude, here, the influence of dozens of other factors.

First I want to once again express my unwavering determination to respect the people's verdict. And then, of course, the issue of identifying factors is a matter of deeper analysis, and not one of momentary reflections.

[Unidentified reporter] In case of a no in the voting, what solution have you thought about, for the approval of the constitution?

[Berisha] My opinion is that when the sovereign people speaks, others should remain silent. It is up to the sovereign people to speak. That has been my opinion, but that opinion did not find approval in the variant in which it was presented. It is up to political forces to determine the method of approval of the constitution—which, I again insist, should be a very major goal. I have favored and still favor the viewpoint that Albanians and Albania should have their own constitution as soon as possible.

[Unidentified reporter] What would be your response if the political opposition forces insist on their demand for early elections?

[Berisha] It is up to political forces and their efforts to determine future solutions. In the position I am in, as a president elected by a parliament, of course I will make efforts to incontestably make my contribution to solutions that are as democratic as possible. I am convinced that entirely suitable solutions will be found.

[Unidentified reporter] Let us go back to factors. If the answer is no, without going into their analysis, do you think that it is only the internal factor, or there are external factors as well?

[Berisha] If the answer is no, under no circumstances would I agree to blame the Albanian people—under no circumstances and beyond every doubt, for me. I do not think that anyone would lose from the people's verdict. The verdict is to be respected.

[Unidentified reporter] Do you think that those who nourished in the people the thirst for blood during the campaign—which was implemented in Vig in Shkoder, and injuries in Lushnje—will be treated again with democratic means?

[Berisha] Such calls are unacceptable. I fully agree with you. But this has not been the dominating principle of the campaign. In any case, it was certainly unfortunate for those who launched these calls. I do not want to say or assert that this has been a characteristic of the campaign. The way they will be treated has a judicial framework; and laws, courts, prosecution offices, or others can deal with them. I do not believe that they have been the main feature of the campaign.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, if the verdict of the people turns out to be an absolute yes, what would this mean for the president and all political forces?

[Berisha] If the verdict of the people turns out to be an absolute yes, this will undoubtedly be a great support to the constitution. However, in this case, I would like once again to assure the citizens of Albania that their verdict will be respected unwaveringly.

[Unidentified reporter] Being always a center-rightist in your political fight, this time it was the Socialist Party and the recently established Right Wing Party which were against the constitution. How do you see the cooperation between these parties, these forces? What position will you, in particular, maintain?

[Berisha] Personally, I do not favor grand coalitions. The experience of other countries shows that the establishment of a grand coalition in a country or upon a people has not proved to be a government without defects. This is my conviction and I remain loyal to this. I am very strict in this. I had not intended, and still do not intend, to injure anyone when I say I do not accept the coalition. I have my deep conviction that, in such a way, I serve my

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country, serve democracy, better than with the coalition. I have no other prejudice for the coalition, aside from my conviction that the opposition should be strong and that the country needs a strong opposition, which should have a continuous [word indistinct] over the government. This seems to me to be the way—or one of the best ways—to govern. I cannot say it is the best, but I consider this to be one of the best forms of government. I see the key to democracy as lying in providing alternatives.

[Unidentified reporter] Whether or not there is a victory, is this parliament, in view of the number of its members, politically capable of approving the constitution?

[Berisha] It is up to the parliamentary groups to provide an answer to this problem. My opinion is—and remains—that it is the sovereign people who should decide on the constitution. Many many constitutions, both in the East and in the West, have been decided on by referendum. Nevertheless, it was the parliament that decided to pass the constitution through a referendum. Since the parliament, too, is a representative of sovereignty, that same parliament itself can decide upon the constitution, according to existing law.

[Berisha spokesman Genc Pollo] It seems there are no more questions. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention.

[Berisha] Good bye.

Berisha Thanks Saudi Minister for Assistance

AU0911113594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha today received the Islamic affairs minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and adviser to King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz al Sa'ud, Shaykh 'Abdallah Bin-'Abd-al Muhsin al-Turki.

I would like to cordially thank the government of his majesty for the great interest shown in Albania and the valuable assistance that it is granting, President Berisha told the Saudi minister, welcoming him. We assessed that the resolution of your government on an bilateral cooperation with Albania, issued several weeks ago, was very important. We are interested in seeing that this resolution is implemented as soon as possible, Berisha said.

For his part, thanking for the warm reception, the Saudi Arabian minister said that Albania enjoys the sympathy of the people of his country and that the government of his majesty is interested in establishing bilateral cooperation with Albania. His government has already opened the way to this cooperation.

COE Delegation Arrives To Observe Referendum

AU0911113694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, President Berisha received a Council of Europe [COE] delegation comprising Messrs. Columberg, Kelchermans, and Hartland, who have arrived in our country to observe the development of the referendum on the draft constitution. Here is a report on the reception ceremony.

Albania has been committed to a deep political, economic, institutional, and legislative reform and has made such important achievements that it deserves attention, President Berisha told the delegation members. We have assessed and still assess the support that the COE has given and continues to give to Albania in implementing this reform, as well as in admitting Albania as a member of the council.

During our frequent visits, we were flabbergasted by the evident results achieved in the implemention of reform, for which you should be congratulated, Messrs. Columberg, Kelchermans, and Hartland said. They stressed that, as before, the COE will continue to support Albania, being convinced that Albania will join the COE very soon.

Pointing out the consensus achieved on this basis, we very much hoped to report a positive result of the referendum on the draft constitution at the council meeting that is to be held this Wednesday.

Regarding the referendum, President Berisha said that the result of the referendum is the verdict of the people and that this verdict should be respected. For my part, I will not cease my efforts for Albania to have its own constitution as soon as possible through the most democratic means, Berisha said.

'No' Vote, No Membership

AU0811202694 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A no to the referendum on the constitution will take Albania away from the Council of Europe [COE]. The COE representatives—Belgian Senator Lambert Kelchermans and Swiss Senator Dumeni Columberg, who came to observe the elections—asserted.

Belgian Senator Kelchermans told GAZETA SHQIPTARE yesterday that if the Sunday [5 Nov] result turns out to be negative, then it will really present a problem. To become a COE effective member, Albania should not only have a democratic parliament and government, but a constitution as well.

The COE representatives said that this time they will compile a special report. The powerful European organization will accept Albania in its bosom only after studying the constitution and the elements on which it has been based.

If we have a constitution, Columberg said, we will judge only on its basis, on the way the judicial system is being set up and the division of power. Along with these, they have clarified that other elements of a state are also important, such as the Civil and Penal Codes.

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Now, Albania will be left for some time not only without a constitution, but also outside the COE, if political forces do not find an acceptable solution to respond to the new situation after the referendum. If this is not reached, the procedures of the admission to the COE must start from the very beginning.

Party Objects to Status of Church in Referendum

AU0811205394 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by Arben Karapici]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the Human Rights Union Party [BDNJ], its members and sympathizers have said no to the referendum on the new democratic constitution of Albania.

BDNJ Chairman Vasil Mele mentioned the reasons for this negative vote at a news conference held in Tirana today. Mr. Mele objected to the autochephalous status of the Albanian Orthodox Church. He particularly focused on Article 7 of the draft constitution, which he viewed as an intrusion into religious affairs.

Asked whether a no vote is a vote against the autochephalous status of the Albanian Orthodox Church, BDNJ Chairman Mele said that the autochephalous status of the Albanian Orthodox Church is one of the reasons for this negative vote.

Meanwhile, Mr. Mele dissociated himself from Sokrat Kalidhopulli, chairman of the Gjirokaster District Council, who was proposed by this party. Kalidhopulli had invited his Greek compatriots to vote in favor of the draft constitution.

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Commentary Lauds Reaction to Airspace Violation

AU0911113294 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5-6 Nov 94 p 6

[Commentary by Nikolay Golemanov: "One Minute Is Too Much"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Greek fighter planes violated Bulgaria's airspace on two consecutive days. Indeed, the violations did not last more than one minute. However, regardless of whether that minute was a result of a pilot's mistake or was a calculated message, its name remains the same: namely "a violation of the airspace of a sovereign state."

This time, Bulgaria reacted in a normal and prudent manner. It did not delicately close its eyes, as it has in many similar cases in the past involving Greek, Turkish, Romanian, ZES [expansion unknown], etc. when its sovereignty was violated. At the same time, it did not dramatize the case.

There is one thing that must be done urgently and together with the Greek side: We must check to see whether the incidents of 2 and 3 November weren't a result of the violation of the existing confidence measures, and whether we shouldn't begin talks on new, more secure confidence measures. It was precisely for this purpose that all European states agreed on certain limitations in military maneuvers—namely, in order to prevent an absent-minded pilot from scaring the air defense of a neighboring state.

Even a single minute during which our border was violated, and even a single lev's worth of damage inflicted on our national interests, are too much. The Bulgarian authorities have sufficient possibilities to prove that they are prepared to react in a worthy manner, and not only in anything related to Greece. This should also apply to the ship Vasil Aprilov, detained by the Romanian authorities after prompting by the United Nations. Should we not react in a worthy manner in all cases?

Press Office Rejects 'Lie' on Prisoner Releases

AU0811150594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a fax from the presidential press center. The fax states that in the past few days, certain party publications have persistently repeated the lie that the president has set criminals free, which has contributed to the rising crime rate.

The fax gives several pieces of information, including that the great amnesty of 1990 was an act carried out by the last communist National Assembly chaired by Stanko Todorov. Petur Mladenov was president of Bulgaria at the time. During the last four years and four months, while President Zhelyu Zhelev has been in office, 1,390 prisoners have received partial pardons or have had the rest of their sentences commuted, while 556 prisoners have been released from jail, mainly on health grounds.

The fax from the presidential press center draws a comparison between the prisoners amnestied or pardoned during the period 1984-89 and those released within the last four years, showing that 12 times more prisoners were released in the former period than in the latter one.

These latest attempts to discredit the president are strikingly reminiscent of Goebbels' old maxim that a lie repeated 100 times becomes the truth. If the party authors believe that slander is a winning election gambit, they should be reminded that the head of state is not taking part in the election campaign, the fax concludes.

Police Decide To Launch Nationwide Operation

AU0911083994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Interior Ministry Chavdar Chervenkov visited Pazardzhik today, where he had a meeting with the regional Directorate of Internal Affairs.

In the afternoon the police conducted an operation in which all officers were ordered to return to duty immediately. The operation formed part of the Interior Ministry's tactics to be used on a national scale against racketeers and to detect persons and citizens possessing firearms illegally. Police sources reported that it was decided to mount the initial operations in Pazardzhik and Velingrad.

People's Union Coalition Presents New Allies

AU0811170894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's regular news conference of the People's Union, made up of the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] and the Democratic Party, the chief accent was placed on presenting the coalition's new partners: The Party of the Democratic Center, chaired by Ventseslav Dimitrov; the Union of the Repressed; the Christian Democratic Union in Bulgaria; and politicians Aleksandur Dzherov and Nikolay Khristov as individuals.

Mrs. Mozer [BZNS leader] said that the People's Union coalition is an example of the consolidation of the democratic forces. Stefan Savov [leader of the Democratic Party] added that the People's Union will not seek confrontation with the neocommunist groupings in Bulgaria. According to Ventseslav Dimitrov, the People's Union should inaugurate a European right-of-center model, the only possible alternative during the period of transition.

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Czech Troops Might Withdraw From UNPROFOR

LD0911105594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 9 Nov 94

[[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech Republic has warned that it might consider pulling out Czech troops from the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] forces in the former Yugoslavia if the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government is lifted.

The Czech Republic has a battalion comprising about 900 men in Croatia.

The UN Security Council will continue to discuss the lifting of the embargo in New York today.

Czech Ambassador Karel Kovanda, in consensus with almost all other European ambassadors but in disagreement with the majority of non-European envoys, spoke against this proposal. We think there is one thing that should be obvious, and that is that more weapons are not conducive to bringing more peace, Kovanda said.

Havel: Our Place Is Among Democratic Countries

BR0811152394 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Nov 94 p 4

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Fernando de Sousa in Prague; date not given: "Our Place Is in Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prague—*Czech President Vaclav Havel regards his Portuguese counterpart Mario Soares's forthcoming visit to Prague (from 15 to 17 November) as a meeting between friends marking a high point in relations between the two countries. In an exclusive interview granted to DIARIO DE NOTICIAS at his office in the presidential palace, Havel recalled Mario Soares's private visit, soon after the Velvet Revolution, as an important sign of a good understanding with Portugal.* [passage omitted]

[De Sousa] What is the significance of President Mario Soares's forthcoming visit to Prague?

[Havel] It will strengthen our personal relationship, but it will also strengthen the friendly relations between our two countries. For us, the president's visit during the first days of the revolution was very important, when he came here unofficially. In the meantime, I also traveled to Portugal, in my capacity as president of Czechoslovakia. Over the years, we have met on a number of occasions. This official visit by the Portuguese president is important as a follow-up to our previous relations.

[De Sousa] Apart from the dialogue between the two countries, you also have a good personal relationship with President Mario Soares...

[Havel] Yes. We met on many occasions, on which we spoke openly like friends. I can say that our relationship is one of friendship.

[De Sousa] Are there currently any significant problems in your bilateral relations?

[Havel] I am in a position to answer "no," although I have heard in the past that southern European countries were against our joining the European Union [EU]. I can tell you that, in the meantime, according to the latest information available to me, these countries now support our accession to the EU. This support was also expressed during the latest EU ministerial meeting.

[De Sousa] What role can Portugal play in relation to the Czech Republic's admission to membership of the EU?

[Havel] The Czech Republic's accession to the EU must be voted by all member states. Portugal's vote is as important as that of the other countries.

[De Sousa] Why did the Czech Republic apply for membership?

[Havel] Historically, we have always been an integral part of West Europe. For us, the most important thing is to feel that we are in the right place. Historically, I believe our place is among West Europe's democratic countries.

[De Sousa] What are the Czech Republic's expectations regarding membership in the EU?

[Havel] We hope to be in the same position as other European countries today. Our Republic wants to be among the European democracies. It also hopes to find security within Europe, so as not to remain isolated, and also to open up new possibilities, with a view to establishing a market economy, which is now being developed after the communist era.

[De Sousa] Concerning security, do you think the Czech Republic will be safer within the EU? Will Russia not consider it a potentially threatening neighbor?

[Havel] We already thought of joining the Council of Europe and NATO, as well as other institutions. All this allows us to feel safer. Membership in the EU would add to our feeling of safety. Regarding Russia, it is no longer our neighbor, because the Slovak Republic and Ukraine are now between us. But we must take Russia into account because it is a major power, and its development will determine the future. We hope this development will be democratic.

[De Sousa] Therefore, you do not regard Russia as a threat...

[Havel] We do not find Russia threatening, but we have a certain experience of the past, and we are more sensitive when it comes to our relations with this country. This is why we are looking very attentively at political events and developments in that country. But, by this, I do not mean to say that we regard it as a threat...

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[De Sousa] You are an author and an intellectual who has now taken on a political role. Do you find that we hear too much about politics in Europe and too little about culture? In this sense, what might be your personal contribution to renewing European culture in the light of current changes, including the EU's enlargement?

[Havel] As regards the EU, I believe that, from a historical point of view, it can be said that our spiritual and political values lie there. That is why we must support such values. Many may regard this development as a technical or administrative or even a bureaucratic step. But this is not the case. The EU must back this cultural dimension. It is an issue that depends to a larger extent on individuals, artists, writers, actors. Governments cannot do all that much in the cultural field. It depends more on individuals.

Holan: CR Politically Prepared To Join NATO

LD0811174894 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1433 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Janovice nad Uhlavou/Cham (DDP/ADN)—The Czech Republic [CR] is still pressing for membership in NATO as soon as possible. His country is politically prepared to join the alliance, Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan said today on the sidelines of the first German-Czech military exercises in Janovice na Uhlavou. The Czech Army still has to complete the restructuring now under way. This will soon be the case in certain areas.

Bernd Wilz, parliamentary state secretary in the German Defense Ministry, stressed that the German government has great understanding for the Czech wish. The German side did not make any specific promises as far as a date for membership was concerned.

The state secretary recalled that Germany is substantially involved in the NATO Partnership for Peace initiative for East Europe. The German Government is committed to deepening that partnership. Wilz offered the Czech side increased support in the training of officers.

The politician described the military exercises as a historic moment. The initial results are pleasing. Three hundred and fifty soldiers each from a Czech and a German unit are taking part in the exercises in the Janovice nad Uhlavou (Czech Republic) and Cham (Bavaria) areas. They are carrying out joint exercises in the framework of a possible UN peacekeeping mission. [passage omitted]

ODS Deputy Chairman Cermak Under Attack

95CH0017A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 18 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by Alena Zivnustkova and Victor Gomez: "Cermak Under Fire Again, This Time From His Friends"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The atmosphere at the press conference seemed all too familiar as Petr Cermak sat under the hot scrutiny of camera lights fending off journalists and trying to explain why he shouldn't have to resign.

By now, the procedure should have been routine for the prime minister's right-hand man. The dual charges of receiving gratuities from a shady firm and meddling in the media are typical of the scandals that have surrounded Cermak for the past two years. From each he has emerged unscathed.

But this time, it might not be so easy for 41-year-old Cermak, because the heaviest fire is coming from within the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), of which he is deputy chairman.

"I see this as a politically motivated affair.... It is by far not as black and white as it may have seemed after the first report on it," he said at the October 6 press conference.

Cermak was trying to explain why he accepted the free lease of a Mercedes from the German rental firm Helbig last fall and didn't pay a single heller of tax on it. This issue recently became more complicated when the German branch of Interpol requested that Czech police investigate the owners of Helbig for insurance fraud.

As he juggled questions about his dealings with Helbig, Cermak also came under attack for allegedly interfering with the media by trying to influence personnel decisions at the news department of Czech Television.

It was an echo of last month's allegations that Cermak had a hand in the dismissal of the editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper TELEGRAF. Czech Television director Ivo Mathe would say only that the ODS deputy chairman had taken an interest in who would fill the station's deputy news director position.

When the Czech Television director decided to hire former dissident Jan Urban, Cermak met with Mathe and personally told him he didn't like the decision.

"I didn't want the station to become politicized," said Cermak. Asked how the station could become politicized under the circumstances, Cermak said that Urban was a supporter of the centrist political party formerly known as the Civic Movement. In response, Urban said he had never been a member of that party or any other—aside from the revolutionary Civic Forum organization.

While ODS members, and even Mathe himself, are apparently willing to dismiss the Urban affair as just another personal gripe between the free-marketeers currently leading the country and disgruntled former dissidents of a more humanist persuation, Cermak's free car may be the last straw.

Legal experts quoted in the Czech press said Cermak was obliged to list the car as a taxable item and register it as

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a potential conflict of interest with his work as a parliamentary deputy. Neither of these things was done.

"It didn't occur to me that I was supposed to pay any tax. If someone lends you something for free, I am not a tax lawyer who would know immediately if I'm supposed to pay tax on it," he said. "I have never tried to hide this fact. But if it would help to clear up the atmosphere, I am willing to add it [to my income tax form] today."

Cermak also dismissed the conflict of interest allegations, saying that parliament has not voted on any bill dealing with Helbig or Mercedes. If it ever did, Cermak assured reporters he would do the honorable thing and refuse to vote because of the potential conflict of interest.

"I was just offered a car from a company whose offer I accepted. That didn't oblige me to do anything and I was not bound to reciprocate," he said.

Cermak was backed up at the press conference by ODS spokeswoman Jana Petrova, who said she doesn't consider the car in question to be a mere convenience.

"I can't imagine him riding to work on a bicycle, flying on a carpet or going on foot. The car is a necessity for him," she said.

Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde—who is also a member of the ODS—has refused to comment on Cermak's case until he can gather at least three legal opinions on it. On October 7, Uhde was quoted in the daily MLADA FRONTA DNES as saying the opinions he has gathered on the case so far have been contradictory.

Other ODS members, such as parliamentary deputy Libor Novak, have not been so hesitant. Novak told the Czech press that he believes Cermak should be voted out of his function at the party's annual congress in December and that the position should cease to exist altogether.

If this happens, it wouldn't be the first time that an ODS deputy chairman was voted out of his position over a potential conflict of interest. In a 1992 congress, party members voted to give the boot to Cermak's predecessor, Miroslav Macek, because of allegations in the press that Macek had used his position to get a beneficial deal in the privatization of a book company.

Cermak, who has served as deputy chairman of the ODS since Macek's departure, almost lost the post at last year's congress. After Cermak failed to gain enough support in the first ballot, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus had to call a second vote on Cermak's position.

Whether Cermak can hold onto his post again this year depends on how ODS rank-and-file members view the latest in a long string of public embarrassments for the embattled deputy chairman.

Last year, questions arose over his links to the investigation fund chieftain Viktor Kozeny, who has come under police investigation for allegedly purchasing commercial secrets and politically sensitive information from a former spy. At the time, Cermak had to field questions about why he offered Kozeny a gun to protect himself.

In March, Cermak raised eyebrows when he vehemently criticized a union demonstration on Prague's Old Town Square as shameful and destabilizing to the country's transformation process.

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Moravcik Will Not Sign Privatization Law

LD0811124194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik will not sign the law abolishing the privatization decisions his government has made since 6 September. In the interview granted to the Slovak Republic News Agency [TA SR] today, he said he would propose to the Cabinet that the law be returned to parliament for another debate because it contradicted the Constitution. If the National Council passes the law again, the government will ask the Constitutional Court to deliver a ruling.

Moravcik went on to say that his Cabinet would continue to function as prescribed by the law and that it would execute all of its functions. Moravcik thinks it is in the interest of Slovakia that the government stay in office for the next two weeks because this appears to be an effective and expedient period.

Parliament Wants Law Returned

LD0811172894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The government has discussed and approved a proposal asking the president to return the National Council's law passed on 4 November. This law revokes the government's decision on privatization through the direct sale of companies, parts of companies' assets, and assets partially owned by the state. Kovac should also return to parliament the bill that changes and amends the present law on the conditions of the transfer of state assets to other entities, the government said. [passage omitted] The government also approved the draft of the national antidrug policy.

HZDS To Form Government 'as Soon as Possible'

LD0811155294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The issue of forming a new cabinet is more than urgent. Katarina Belicka discussed with Olga Keltosova, chairwoman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], how this problem should be dealt with. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Belicka] In his 6 November television speech, Moravcik said that, although the HZDS had gained the control of parliament, it did not intend to form a new government. When will Slovakia have a new government, and what, in your view, will its composition be, especially now, when the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] has suspended talks with the HZDS?

[Keltosova] We very closely followed and analyzed the conclusions of the SDL Executive Committee. I think one has to be able to read between the lines because the SDL has suspended and not terminated its talks with the HZDS. We therefore feel that the negotiations between the HZDS and the SDL should and will continue.

The date when a new government is formed will depend on the willingness of political partners, with whom we are engaged in negotiations, to join the government. The HZDS is aware of its responsibility to the voters, and that is why it intends to form the government as soon as possible, although the condition was to win a parliamentary majority. What must not be repeated are the events of 1992 and the events of March 1994 because they confirmed that, at that time, we evidently made a mistake when we were attempting to form a government as quickly as possible without the appropriate support in the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

[Belicka] So, you are determined not to repeat this mistake for the third time. Does this mean that the first part of the HZDS scenario would be to rule through parliament until a new government is appointed, while the second part would be aimed at the possibility of forming a standby cabinet [nahradni kabinet]? It is said that this cabinet would be headed by Sergej Kozlik [HZDS deputy chairman].

[Keltosova] At the moment, these are but rumors. No HZDS political body has discussed the possibility of Sergej Kozlik's becoming prime minister.

[Belicka] Peter Weiss [SDL chairman] said that his party did not want to become an HZDS appendix. If the SDL or, say, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] should decide to go into coalition with you, would there be a chance that their representatives could fill one of the key posts?

[Keltosova] The willingness of the SDL or the KDH to go into coalition with us will depend on meeting the conditions or, rather, on the willingness to meet the conditions of the future coalition agreement. This does not depend just on the willingness of the other side, though.

Weiss said that the SDL did not intend to be an appendix. That was quite an unfortunate statement. The SDL should realize that they made it into parliament by the skin of their teeth, so to speak. A mere 0.4 percent and they would not have made it into the parliament and the SDL could have easily found itself outside the parliament. This is the premise on which SDL representatives should base their actions when negotiating with the party that won 35 percent of the vote. The point is that they should not lay down unrealistic demands. They should lay down demands relevant to the proportion of votes they won. This applies equally to other entities.

The coalition is possible, we think. The evidence of this is, for example, the fact that, at the National Council's last session, we elected only two deputy chairmen, although we approved four deputy chairmen's posts. This alone creates realistic conditions for further cooperation. Other posts in state administration and the

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government could also be considered. There are unlimited opportunities, but all will depend on the conditions set out by both sides and, above all, on the willingness to reach a compromise. If the willingness to reach a compromise does exist, I regard the forming of a new government as a realistic issue. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Parties Continue Coalition Negotiations

95CH0018A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 18 Oct 94 p 3

[Commentary by Timea Spitkova: "Parties Try To Have It Both Ways"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] It's getting harder and harder to tell the difference between an anti-Meciar and a pro-Meciar political party.

As negotiations to form a new Slovak government entered their second week, political parties attacked former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar for his attempts to topple President Michal Kovac—even while talking about becoming his partner.

The poor showing of Meciar's opponents apparently claimed its first casualties as the leadership of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) collectively offered its resignation October 10. The SDL, which ran in a coalition with three smaller left-leaning parties, captured 10.4 percent of the vote, half of what had been predicted.

"The SDL intends to correct the causes of electoral defeat with personnel changes and a new concept in policies," Deputy Chairman Milan Ftacnik said at a news conference.

He added, however, that there would be no rash changes, and that basic party structures and policy would remain intact.

The main issue remained whether Meciar would be able to form a new government. But with the chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in the powerful position of having won the most votes September 30-October 1, political leaders who once bitterly attacked him hinted that it might not be so bad to see him back in power after all.

The transformation of Meciar's opponents had reached the point that earlier the SDL, which played a key role in ousting Meciar last March, simply reversed its rhetoric.

"A coalition of the HZDS, the SDL and the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement] is not what we necessarily wanted, but it is the only possibility of creating a majority in parliament," said Ftacnik.

The KDH and the Democratic Union (DU), parties that formed an interim anti-Meciar government with the SDL, have also wavered between fervent opposition to the HZDS and indications that they were considering entering a coalition with the former premier.

Even Jozef Moravcik, the current prime minister and leader of the DU, dabbled in double-talk. Although the HZDS has refused to enter into negotiations with the DU, Moravcik did not rule out cooperation with the HZDS, even while attacking its leaders.

"If the HZDS does not back down from its confrontational politics, creating a government will be very difficult," he said.

The Hungarian coalition is the only faction that has not indicated an interest in working with the HZDS, saying it would support an alliance of political parties that are in the pres[illegible]overning coalition.

The fierc[illegible]post-election controversy occurred after President Kovac entrusted Meciar with conducting negotiations on the formation of a new government, but didn't appoint him prime minister-designate. The results of negotiations must be announced by October 18, when the president can either approve the prospective coalition or ask another political party to create a government.

The HZDS leadership, which immediately asked Kovac to resign, objected to the president's "interference." That irritated the very parties Meciar hoped to lure into a coalition.

"Until the end of Michal Kovac's term in office, this (the president's dismissal) could happen only over the KDH's dead body," said KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky.

Other parties sounded off as well. "We feel that the attempt to throw out the president is a step toward instability in Slovakia," said Ftacnik.

Jan Luptak, the leader of the Association of Workers of Slovakia (ZRS), the upstart left-wing party that, with its 13 seats in the new parliament, presently holds the wild card in Slovak politics, also objected to the HZDS' attacks on the president.

"Not even I behaved in this way in parliament," said Luptak, in response to a walkout by HZDS representatives at the party leaders' meeting at which Kovac was asked to resign.

During the first round of talks, the HZDS has had formal negotiations with the extremist Slovak National Party (SNS), its former coalition partner; the ZRS, which has announced its intention to remain in opposition; and the right-leaning KDH.

Meciar himself, at the center of most rumors, remained in the shadows, sending aides to meetings with other party leaders and giving only one interview to selected journalists.

Olga Keltosova, one of three HZDS leaders negotiating on Meciar's behalf, avoided giving details on issues but described the discussions as successful.

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"The first round of talks is only preliminary, but they have been successful, as they clearly indicate an interest of the political parties to cooperate; all parties are willing to continue in the second round of negotiation," she said.

Other political parties gave less positive reports.

"People here don't believe that a coalition with the HZDS is possible," said KDH spokesman Juraj Kohutian. "Under the present conditions (with the HZDS attacking the president), a government will not be established."

After initially wavering between supporting a coalition or going into opposition, Luptak indicated that he is not interested in joining any government. He said political leaders should sit at a table and come up with an agreement or else leave their posts.

"I will say it openly: Roosters on top of a garbage dump who have been here for a long time should get out of the scene," he said. "They will never reach an agreement."

Kanis Outlines Differences Within SDL

AU0811114294 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Oct 94 pp 1, 3

[First installment of an interview with Pavol Kanis, defense minister and SDL deputy chairman, by Julius Gembicky in Bratislava; date not given: "March 1994 Has Come Back Like a Boomerang"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kanis] First of all, I must revert to that statement about the historical mistake of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]. Some of the hysterical journalists living off it are merely practicing polemics with their own interpretations and fantasies. Even the headline of your report on the talks between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and Common Choice, which supposedly quoted me, was inaccurate. You should not do that to a former fellow student. The statement concerns the efficacy of the SDL's policy. The electoral outcome is uncompromising here. In the wake of our calls, made since May 1993, for early elections and our justified pre-March ambition to do very well in them, on 1 October the SDL was tottering on the brink of not getting into parliament at all. Two strategic mistakes are clear: 1) abandoning the domain of left-wing policy and 2) losing the opportunity to go into the early elections from the opposition. Our electoral catastrophe has had very negative repercussions not only for the party but also for Slovakia's entire political life. Therefore, in the current postelection political tangle, it is also important for us to call a spade a spade.

[Gembicky] Mr. Minister, following the talks with the HZDS, you said that two ideological groupings had been formed within the SDL before the vote of no-confidence in V. Meciar. If it is not a secret, who was in them and how big were they?

[Kanis] It is also necessary to go back to March 1994 because the crux of the problem has been returned to us by the elections. It consists of the SDL's attitude toward the HZDS. In dealing with this matter, personal relations, perceptions about each other, and bias toward the opinion of certain people are not what is important. With regard to relations between the HZDS and the SDL, I perhaps also have a right to overlook personal relations because my relations with Meciar before March were always more conflictive than P. Weiss's relations with him. Incidentally, none other than Meciar communicated directly to Weiss that he alone would be parliament's first deputy chairman. The method of appointment was one of the few shocks I have encountered in politics. The relationship between the HZDS and the SDL must be decided upon from the point of view of the interests and needs of our young state and from the objective policy of each entity. When I refer to the erroneous nature of the SDL's course of action in March, I do not want to be a general after the battle. Developments alone and, first and foremost, the elections have confirmed the correctness of my views and justified fears about what would happen next, fears that, unfortunately, have been fulfilled.

[Gembicky] What in fact was the reason for the conflict?

[Kanis] Whether, following the president's address, the conflict was of such a social nature that a rapid solution had to be reached or whether it was merely an overdramatized conflict between the president and Meciar or, as the case may be, between the head of state and the HZDS. The SDL could have taken another step: negotiating further with the HZDS. However, Weiss was maneuvered into the position of main standard-bearer in the campaign against Meciar, although a large part of our membership and voter base was of a different opinion. It was not in our interest to become the main spearhead against Meciar. The Christian Democratic Movement and J. Carnogursky pulled out of this role in March 1994. Moreover, we cannot forget that the SDL started to be carried along with the current when Mr. Weiss voted in favor of the budget after we had been rejecting it for almost two months.

The election results, according to which we must also judge March 1994, state clearly that the policy we conducted has not brought the required outcome. At that time, we had 29 deputies. Now we have 13, and Common Choice as a whole has 18.

[Gembicky] Apart from you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, who advocated these views within the SDL before the crucial decision?

[Kanis] I would not like to mention any names because I can see that you are again personalizing the issue instead of objectively analyzing the election results and March 1994. I repeat, the dispute consisted of the following: whether to become involved in the recall of Meciar, to continue, as the case may be, to negotiate, to let him carry on governing, or to go into a coalition with the HZDS.

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[Gembicky] What solution did you propose before 11 March?

[Kanis] There would not have been early elections if there had been an HZDS-SDL coalition. The government could have had a clear majority in parliament until the end of the regular electoral period in 1996.

[Gembicky] The opinion you put forward after the talks with the HZDS has been described as "personal" by Chairman Weiss. That is, it is not the view of the SDL's political bodies. So, does it have the support of the majority of Executive Committee or Republican Council members if you are putting it forward outside?

[Kanis] Every opinion that is not a resolution of some party body is a personal opinion. Fortunately, we do not have collective minds. Even the opinions of Weiss, in which he gives his view of our electoral failure and trivializes his share of the blame, are merely personal.

[Gembicky] The Republican Council gave you a mandate, as one of the negotiators, to hold talks with the HZDS, but, at the same time, it also set limits for the possible agreement: maintaining the status of the president and ceasing the attacks on M. Kovac; the inadmissibility of changing the parliamentary system; rejecting the imperative mandate for deputies; and the proportionate principle in filling posts in the National Council of the Slovak Republic. You have stated that the future government will be a government of major compromise. Is this a compromise that goes beyond the aforementioned limits?

[Kanis] The conclusions reached by the Republican Council are also my conclusions. The Republican Council set limits within which our decisions should remain. The limits do not correspond to the complexity of the issues in the talks. The purpose of the talks is not only to inform each other of our limits but to seek matter-of-fact solutions that are acceptable to each other. After probing the way toward compromises and after the objective joint solutions comes the most important stage. This involves a decision made by vote, the vote of the Republican Council.

[Gembicky] Does it not seem to you that, by your reference to the SDL's "historical mistake," you have also cast doubt on your conduct in the coalition government? Is this not a sign that, in the end, the SDL leadership is setting itself right and that, at the congress, there will be a radical ideological clash between the two concepts, personnel changes, and the splintering away of that part of the SDL that favors a coalition with the HZDS?

[Kanis] You formulate your questions very badly. I am not interested in such changes in the nature and contents of the SDL's policy that, before the next elections, this party would be in a flutter about getting into parliament. In my personal view, the SDL, as an entity that has suffered a catastrophic defeat, is to blame for many of the things that have been causing difficulties in Slovak political life now in forming the government and parliament. So, the much-criticized statement concerns not my conduct in the government but the SDL's strategy. I am glad that my colleagues in the government also perceive my statement this way. The key to understanding it lies in the discrepancy between the SDL's squandered opportunities and its real election results. If we had calculated that we would have a decisive or significant say in forming the government after the parliamentary elections, then it really is the case that we have, perhaps, lost four years after six months.

[Gembicky] Are you willing to subordinate yourself to the majority view within the SDL, or are you also resolved to leave the SDL if the conflict with Weiss, M. Ftacnik, and, conceivably, B. Schmognerova comes to a head?

[Kanis] This question is premature. Decisions are made in every party according to the majority principle. The issue involves making sure that the party is united in understanding its strategy. I have been entrusted with heading the commission that is to prepare the draft outline of the SDL's program for its next congress in February. I see an opportunity in this work to play an active role in repairing the damage.

[Gembicky] If the ideological differences in the SDL were to result in an open breach, how many deputies, in your opinion, would be on your side? Would it be sufficient for a coalition government with the HZDS?

[Kanis] If you bring the HZDS into this, it is as if the issue of discord within the SDL were a matter for the other political entities. The HZDS is not the only entity that has to have an interest in weakening the SDL. Others have it, too. What I am doing is trying to strengthen the SDL as a left-wing political party.

[Gembicky] Is it not possible to interpret your stance as an attempt to remain a minister at any price?

[Kanis] Sitting in a minister's chair in Slovakia is sometimes worse than sitting in an electric chair. Incidentally, being in the government, especially in a post where it was and is essential to be neutral, has damaged the SDL's interests because my absence has been felt in our center. One cannot discount the possibility that, if I had not been a minister, corrections would have been made to the SDL's policy.

Discusses Electoral Failure

AU0811114494 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 Oct 94 p 3

[Second installment of an interview with Pavol Kanis, defense minister and SDL deputy chairman, by Julius Gembicky in Bratislava; date not given: "The HZDS and Vladimir Meciar Should Accede to a Major Compromise"]

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[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Gembicky] Do you suppose the main reason for the failure of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] or Common Choice in the elections was the deviation from a left-wing policy toward a kind of salon version of it?

[Kanis] Yes. The electoral failure is a result of the SDL's not formulating a left-wing social democratic policy. Mind you, if our party were to pass off the absence of social conviction, instructionally posturing donnish approaches to solving problems, and boundless acquiescence to coalition partners as social democratic policy, I would have no place in it. The SDL cannot turn itself into a kind of camp follower of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] or the Democratic Union. They move within their spheres. The SDL had, has, and must have its own sphere. The historical change brought about by these elections consists of the fact that other left-wing political entities have become institutionalized in a sphere in which we could be operating sovereignly. Moreover, comparing the election results we achieved in Slovakia with those achieved by similar parties in other East and Central European states is very sad for us. At the same time, people were talking about Slovakia and saying what a splendid party was being established here and what a chance it had. In the end, the voters made a completely different decision. We have to have a good think, to say the least, about all of this. We should not be leading society by the nose with our views that, as Peter Weiss has put it, this is a kind of punishment for our serious social democratic policy, which the Slovak electorate did not understand. No, the SDL failed because it did not formulate a left-wing social democratic policy. [passage omitted]

[Gembicky] In the second round of coalition talks between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the SDL, there was a discussion about clarifying constitutional powers in the president-parliament-government triangle. What are your views? Is an agreement with the HZDS on shortening the president's term in office perhaps possible?

[Kanis] The Slovak Constitution was formulated under different constitutional and legal conditions. It was formulated under the conditions of the CSFR. This is also reflected in its contents. I emphasize that I am not in favor of any special-purpose changes, but it is clear that, in the foreseeable future, it will be necessary to begin the preparations for dealing with this issue so that the Constitution corresponds fully to the new constitutional and legal situation. If it was said at the meeting with the HZDS that it is necessary to adjust certain relations, I think this is an objective requirement. However, I must point out that we did not discuss a time limit within which this should happen. Nevertheless, this has to be done very responsibly at the expert level. By the way, in some places it takes years to draft the constitution so that it is as explicit as possible. [passage omitted]

[Gembicky] Vladimir Meciar said in one of his interviews that some SDL deputies had apologized to him for voting for his recall. Apparently, they wanted him to remain head of government, but this was not within their power. A great deal of money allegedly was moving around behind the scenes. Are you one of those who conveyed this point of view to Mr. Meciar?

[Kanis] Meciar's opinion is one thing. For me, I can state that the situation at that time was very complicated and that the dispute during its deliberation consisted of what would happen after his recall. The options were known. From a strategic point of view, we considered whether, as a consequence of a coalition with the KDH, we would lose too many of our own forces. This has also happened, unfortunately.

[Gembicky] Did the differing points of view during the March recall of the prime minister provide the stimulus for your sporadic meetings with him after his recall?

[Kanis] I meet with all politicians, and I consider this to be an established practice in my political life.

[Gembicky] Is the dispute within the SDL about its specific policies and conceptual steps not just a continuation of the dispute between you and Weiss since the SDL was established?

[Kanis] No. I think you are completely missing the point by systematically clinging to the idea of a personal dispute. It has always been a dispute about the objective nature of policy, and I think that reality has shown that I am right. [passage omitted]

Duray on Hungarian Deputies Club in Parliament

LD0811153594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Interview with Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Party, by correspondent Bernard Hornak; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Hornak] According to your statement, the MKDH [Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement] refused to take part in the joint parliamentary club of the Hungarian parties and decided to have its own deputies' club. MKDH Chairman Vojtech [Bela] Bugar said at a news conference on 4 November that founding its own club did not mean a split within the coalition of the Hungarian parties in Slovakia. Does this mean that the MKDH is not sticking to the coalition agreement?

[Duray] From the political point of view, it is a definite breach of the principles we have adopted. We will most likely have to undertake a political position on it and come to a political solution. In any case, if an agreement is not upheld, it means a breach of the agreement. I consider it to be a very bad sign, especially at the beginning of the new parliament's term, if those parties that have entered parliament as one coalition are unable to form one parliamentary club. The previous cooperation—the agreement signed and the common principles

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and goals in politics declared in the joint agreement—require close cooperation and work in parliament and in one club.

[Hornak] In your view, which deputies' club will Laszlo Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party [MOS], join? We know that MOS is represented in parliament by only this one man, who cannot form a deputies' club just by himself.

[Duray] He cannot decide this issue by himself, as he said. This matter has to be decided by the board of MOS. We have arrived at the same conclusion, that the agreement has to be maintained. If we agree, and I am convinced that we will reach an agreement on these particular matters, I can see a possibility for cooperation. Even more so, in my view, new possibilities for cooperation are opening up. These possibilities of cooperation between Coexistence and the Hungarian Civic Party did not exist during the past four years. At the moment, the perspectives look positive.

Czech Public Views Slovak Elections

95CH0018B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 18 Oct 94 p 17

[Commentary by Daniel Kumermann: "Slovak Voters Depress Their Czech Neighbors"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The long-feared bomb did indeed go off. Even though it might have been expected, one has to admit that the simple or even simplistic ingenuity of its construction went beyond anybody's wildest guess.

Vladimir Meciar, the most famous—infamous if you prefer—person in his particular Bratislava election district, and in indeed all of Slovakia, could not cast his vote.

The scene: Several television crews wait in front of the school building containing the ballot boxes. Swarms of journalists all around. Oh yes, here he comes with his family. An authorized member of the election committee shuffles papers: "Meciar ... Meciar ... ahem ... sorry, sir, I do not seem able place your name. ... We are awfully sorry, sir, but you cannot vote here."

An absurd drama, but sufficient for the TV news to tape a long and heartbreaking story to top its evening broadcast: The savior of the nation leaves the school building shaken to the marrow. Even a glint of moisture in the corner of the rejected and dejected man's eye might be spoiled.

Enough for many as-yet-undecided individuals to spot, and become indignant at, an injustice. And don't forget the large pool of those not intending to go to the polls at all. Was the news not enough reason to break one's skepticism, to go and stand up for "our Vladko" against his enemies who showed such vileness? Who knows, maybe it was even Czechs or Gypsies or Jews ... or any other kind of obnoxious subhumanity who were behind the ill treatment of Meciar.

One could even believe that the obviously slanted TV report—most likely representing a breach of election law—was but a product of its creators' lack of professionalism. The same cannot, however, be said about the local election committee that compiled the voter list. Most of them must have known they had the great one himself in their district and then—surprise—he somehow did not appear on the list.

The huge boxer-lawyer proved once again that even though he seems more of a boxer than a lawyer most of the time, he is still a good mixture of both, and his punch may be more sly than one would expect. The onetime lawyer of a backwater company at any rate should not be underestimated.

Meciar's victory is also Klaus' victory, claims Ivan Hoffman, a dissident-turned-radio-station-director who is one of the best-known Slovaks in Prague. He goes on to point out the "obstinacy" of the Slovak nation, which despite all previous bad experiences once again lifted Meciar to power. This, one might argue, only stresses that the split of Czechoslovakia was inevitable and fully justified. In addition, it supports the claim that Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus was right in his handling of a national division that was legally dubious if not outright illegal.

That was not the only victory for Mr. Klaus. One can but look back and remember the almost idyllic relationship the two politicians had. Yes, they would lash out sharply at each other, but still it was a happy, kind lashing. Either could be almost 100 percent sure what the other's reaction would be. One was more simplistic and heavy-handed and the other more arrogant—just as their respective home markets demanded.

The relationships within the pre-election Slovak coalition were much more complicated. On one side, Christian Democrats were often tied to the anti-communists. On the other, Peter Weiss' Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) must have been abborrent to a sworn Thatcherite. And those in the middle? Well, if nothing else, they proved treacherous to their old buddy Vladko Meciar.

The true loser of the Slovak elections is the "common" Czech. Despite all the strong (pub) talk about "good riddance" for Slovakia, people still wonder if this is really the same Slovakia with which we shared a state for generations? Were we so blind, or did they just go mad? This then generated lots of pity and at the same time hope that, in the end, possibly even in the fall elections, they would turn "normal" again and thus return some dignity to our joint household. That obviously did not happen, and the Czechs are left more or less alone in the center of Europe. In the search for like-minded neighbors, Czechs find that the Germans are too large, and we recall a fear-generating relationship. Austria is loved (as

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the culturally closest adjacent state) and hated (as the old oppressor) at the same time. The Poles are traditionally viewed with slight disparagement as overdignified but lazy eccentrics whose public image has been improving only recently.

And now gone are the Slovaks, whose language every Czech understands as his or her own, gone irreversibly mad. Sad and alone, the Czechs should at least remember what's happened in Slovakia. Let us all look very carefully at every candidate so we can spot the docile and the clever.

Kovac Deplores Changes in TV, Radio

LD0811223594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac said today in an interview for TASR that, following the latest events, Slovak Television and Slovak Radio have lost the right to bear the title of a public institution and have become institutions directed by a party body.

According to him, the changes currently taking place in these mass media such as, for example, dismissing the director general, the announced changes in Slovak Television, and interference in the program composition do not square with the preelection program of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, which called for complete and truthful information.

The decision of television not to give space to the government to explain its steps and inform the public is, according to Kovac, also in contradiction with the international documents that lay down the rights of citizens for information.

Passports To Indicate Citizenship as of 1 Jan

AU0511141694 Bratislava SME in Slovak 25 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by "(asa)": "Passports Without Stamp Indicating Slovak Citizenship Will Become Invalid On and After 1 January 1995"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Holders of passports bearing the insignia of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic or the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic that expire in 1995 or later have to submit their passports to the passport office for stamping to indicate Slovak citizenship. This service is provided free of charge by passport offices until 31 December 1994. The necessary documents are the identity card showing citizenship and the completed form that can be obtained immediately before the Slovak citizenship stamp is applied for. Passports without indication of state citizenship after 1 January 1995 will become invalid. Unstamped passports can be used for travel only until the end of this year. The Czech Republic, whose citizens have identical passports from the era of the common state, had introduced the requirement that the citizenship be indicated in their passports even earlier. Other states that do not recognize the Czechoslovak Republic require this, too. This way, problems can be avoided when crossing state borders. Passport holders should check the expiration date of their federal passports because certain states—the United States, for instance—do not permit entry on their territory if the passport expires within six months or earlier. Passports of Slovak citizens living abroad will be marked by Slovak diplomatic missions or consulates of the Slovak Republic.

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Horn on Domestic Economic Issues, NATO, EU

BR0811145994 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 5 Nov 94 p 8

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Sandro Scabello in Budapest; date not given: "Hungary in NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Budapest—[Passage omitted] *"Some 10-15 percent of Hungarians enjoy excellent living standards," the prime minister said. "Over 3 million of them live below the poverty line, and the remaining half are watching the steady reduction of their incomes with dismay. The gap between rich and poor is widening. Those who built their prosperity through their ability and skill do not inspire envy, on the other hand people do not regard favorably those who grew rich overnight and who do not pay their taxes. Hence the need to distribute the burden of the economic changes more fairly. It will not be an easy task, because corruption has set roots everywhere."*

[Scabello] Do the liberals agree that they should shoulder responsibility for the most unpopular measures?

[Horn] Yes, but I would like them to be more active in explaining the reasons for some decisions to the public. It is not enough to be tough at the negotiating table. It is also necessary to explain frankly to people how the situation stands.

[Scabello] The social-liberal marriage is said to be already displaying signs of erosion, that the love affair is over...

[Horn] Why, do politicians love each other? The coalition stems from objective interests. We must necessarily love each other in order to make the country and the economy work. Of course, I do not deny that there are arguments, but that is inevitable between two parties with such different philosophies that until four years ago were split by sharp conflicts.

[Scabello] Your partners accuse you of trying to control radio and television.

[Horn] I have never been tempted to do any such thing. In three months I have not made a single telephone call to the editor of a television news program or of a radio program. If anything, the debate centers on the law on the media and on the future of public broadcasting: Should it be state-funded or privatized? I think that television should not be a burden on the budget and that it would be better to examine the possibility of privatization.

[Scabello] Is it true that the reformist wing of the Socialist Party has come into conflict with the former apparatchiks?

[Horn] What does "reformism" mean? I have never encountered in my party an adversary of the market or anyone who challenges the parliamentary institution. There are no tensions, only different opinions on economic reconstruction. Some are pressing for radical action, while others are in favor of a more gradual process.

[Scabello] Since the collapse of the Wall, what is the source of the potential threats to Hungary's security?

[Horn] We are going thorough a transitional situation. The Yugoslav tragedy has displayed Europe's inability to manage crises. NATO is not shouldering its responsibilities, and the CSCE lacks the necessary resources. Therefore we are trying to convince our Western partners of the need for a new thinking on and approach to European problems and to persuade them to step up sanctions against aggressor countries. Then there is the Russian factor, to which the United States and Europe are rightly devoting the utmost attention, in view of the disastrous economic situation and the political uncertainties in Moscow. It is enough to consider the 25 million Russians living abroad. This factor embodies a huge potential for destabilization.

[Scabello] The Kremlin still imposes a strict veto on the central European countries' joining NATO.

[Horn] Sooner or later the Russians will support our request. I do not understand why they still perceive a threat to their security if a neighboring country becomes a member of NATO. I hope they will change their minds soon.

[Scabello] Why did your party decide to carry out a referendum on Hungary's membership of NATO?

[Horn] The public has different views on this issue. Why, many people wonder, after 40 years' membership of the Warsaw Pact, should we become part of another alliance? Then there is an idealistic viewpoint that sees the solution to everything in neutrality while failing to realize, however, that there are now no truly neutral countries. And in any case, who would guarantee this neutrality? When the referendum is held I will argue in favor of NATO.

[Scabello] Do you too feel betrayed or disappointed by Europe's ambiguities and reticence with regard to the post-communist countries?

[Horn] After the collapse of communism and the great euphoria experienced in the West too, Europe gave us a few slaps on the back but not much concrete help. The fact is that the European Union has not yet decided what to do about this region. It has to cope with serious internal problems, and central Europe certainly does not occupy a prominent position among these. It is up to us to ensure that central Europe becomes a priority issue.

Prime Minister, HSP Deputy on Coalition Options

LD0811225794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Last night nearly 50 parliamentary deputies of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]

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assessed their own work and that of the government. According to the information of NEPSZABADSAG, a remark to the effect that people of a country should not be treated as sheep was said at the meeting, which was called a workshop debate. Ernoe Kardos confronts the arguments and counterarguments. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Kardos] In [HSP Deputy] Lajos Matyas Szabo's opinion, was it really said at the meeting that there are coalition alternatives other than the one formed with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]?

[Szabo] It was said, but it should not be regarded as a big issue.

[Kardos] You said at the meeting that a lot of people felt low. But the question is why they feel like this.

[Szabo] I think a lot of us have little information about the way the decisions are made.

[Kardos] Do you mean government decisions or parliamentary decisions?

[Szabo] If you like, the coalition government's decisions. Sometimes, well, a minister has to be voted down. Of course, it is not a necessity, but it has happened.

[Kardos] How did you, Mr. Prime Minister [Gyula Horn], evaluate the message from the deputy group that there was a need to look for a new coalition partner.

[Horn] No message of this kind was voiced, not even a contribution. Furthermore, these words were attributed to a fellow HSP parliamentary deputy who neither attended that meeting nor was in Budapest. The fact that deputy group members are seeking the possibility of more effective actions is an entirely natural thing; I do not find this objectionable in any way. They have also prepared a lot of concrete proposals aimed at making the work more effective. [end recording]

Unions Protest Minister's Wage Control Proposal

LD0811201794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to information supplied by the leadership of the league trade unions [Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions], Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi appealed in a letter to leaders of large international companies operating in Hungary and asked them to keep a tight hold on wages.

According to a fax sent to the radio's editorial, the minister asked the Hungarian leaders of international companies to keep wage increases 5 percent below the level of inflation. The league's leadership protests against this and considers the application of central wage control in the market sphere unacceptable. The trade unions say the measure not only threatens the livelihood of employees, but also weakens the position of the trade unions in wage bargaining.

Vastagh on Constitution, Justice Ministry's Plan

95CH0038D Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Oct 94 p 5

[Unattributed report on statements by Justice Minister Pal Vastagh in Balatonaliga and Veszprem on 30 September: "Pal Vastagh: New Constitution by 1996; Package Plan To Accelerate Litigation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a presentation delivered last Friday at the Society for Popular Science Education continuing education forum in Balatonaliga, and at a subsequent news conference in Veszprem, Justice Minister Pal Vastagh said that no emergency situation exists with respect to the constitution, but the moment has come in which work on the constitution must begin in order to avoid such an emergency situation. The government has already requested the Political Science and Law Institute of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Science] to develop its own concepts. The Ministry of Justice has established a secretariat to prepare the constitution, and the National Assembly is establishing a separate committee for this purpose. The various parties will delegate representatives and experts to serve on this committee. Referring to an opinion expressed by Kalman Kulcsar on the pages of MAGYAR NEMZET, Vastagh said that the academician is correct in objecting to the idea that the minister of justice be the chairman of the parliamentary committee preparing the constitution. "I share his concern, and insofar as the person of the chairman is concerned, I am prepared to accept any solution. Since we are dealing here with a parliamentary committee, the chairman of the committee should not be a leading personality of the executive power," Vastagh said.

In his presentation the minister went into detail regarding constitutional rules for local governments. Several approaches exist in Europe in this regard. For example, the French Constitution has little to say about local governments, which, incidentally, exercise extremely broad authority in France. In contrast, the Austrian rules are rather detailed. In Vastagh's judgment, the starting point for Hungarian rules should be the fact that local governments also perform government administrative tasks, and that they are becoming integrated with the state organization. At the same time, however, they are peculiar local power structures established by local communities, which have a right to handle their own affairs. They pursue local politics, and also constitute a peculiar balance in the central government organization. Local governments must also have an opportunity to influence central organs.

At a news conference after a conference with leaders of the Veszprem County Court, Vastagh announced that the Justice Ministry is preparing a package plan to accelerate both adversarial and nonadversarial court proceedings. In 70,000 cases decisions have been pending for more than a year. The acceleration is necessary so that citizens retain confidence in the legal system.

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The package plan consists of three parts; it contains legislative tasks needed to accomplish the acceleration, the streamlining of internal work in courts of law, and operating conditions for work performed at courts. Responding to a question raised by a journalist, Vastagh said that the number of judges is not the cause for the slowness of processing cases. The fact that in many places the occupants of most judicial posts have changed contributed to the slow pace. In Borsod County, for instance, 50 percent of the incumbent judges has changed. Speaking of operating conditions, Vastagh declared that the supplemental budget rescinded 380 million forints from his ministry, but additional compensation for judges taking effect as a result of amendments to the law on courts remains unchanged.

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Future of Governing Coalition Examined

WS0911105694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 94 p 2

[Editorial by Ewa Kaszuba and Ewa K. Czaczkowska: "Observations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Theoretically, nothing seems to have changed after the session held by the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic on Saturday, but, in fact, the situation is profoundly different. This is no longer the same coalition that lasted for months. Although members of the Chief Council have resolved that the coalition will remain intact, we know this is a provisional statement. After all, the party leaders did not declare, as they did half a year earlier during the government crisis, that this was a stable coalition to last until the next parliamentary elections. During the Sunday breakfast program on Radio "Zet," Aleksander Kwasniewski said that he did not predict any follies on the political scene. The agreement struck by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] with the Freedom Union [UW] in Warsaw demonstrated that what seemed insurmountable may be overcome and that there is an alternative. Kwasniewski stressed this should discipline everyone, both the coalition and the opposition.

The situation has changed. The Polish Peasant Party [PSL], contrary to its longstanding belief, no longer lends credit to the SLD. The SLD already has a potential partner, while the PSL would have to wait for the possibility of attracting one, from the right, until the next parliamentary elections. The PSL is probably already aware that, if it wants to remain in power for at least the next few months, the relations between both parties must change and decisions must be arrived at jointly. Prime Minister Pawlak, whose moves play a key role, must have had this in mind when he suggested that the PSL and the SLD parliamentary clubs meet. The SLD expects that that discourse will not be limited to next year's budget but will also include broader policy issues, as coalition agreements in this respect were so far too vague. The topics of privatization and the government's information policy or, rather, its lack thereof, fiercely criticized by the SLD, are bound to be raised. Will the club meeting on 15 November become a show similar to the one we witnessed when the president visited the UW club?

It is not difficult to predict who would get the upper hand in such a confrontation.

One thing is certain: No changes will take place within the coalition before the budget is passed, not only because opinions on such maneuvers within UW and the SLD differ (during sessions it was confirmed that a rift existed, and ideas presented by the divided leadership do not have to be approved) but also to prevent a situation in which the budget would not be passed and the president would gain an opportunity to dissolve parliament in a time of chaos due to the formation of a new government. Afterwards, PSL politicians also agree, anything may happen.

Whether the coalition falls apart depends to some extent on whether conclusions the party leaders arrive at on 15 November are implemented. It is also certain that the stability of the coalition is conditioned by presidential elections. If UW and the SLD agree to put forth a joint presidential candidate, a change of alliances could take place before the elections. If not, it will become a topical issue once the president is elected.

SdRP Issues Statement on Coalition

WS0911105394 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Ewa Kaszuba and Ewa K. Czaczkowska: "The Coalition Is All Right, but ..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Chief Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] evaluated the decision to form a government coalition with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] as politically just and proper. A resolution passed by the Council on Saturday claims that thanks to that move Poland has a majority government, and the parliament and executive authorities were guaranteed a stable working environment. "Economic growth is continuing," we read in the resolution. "Production and exports are growing at an unprecedented rate. Expenditures on social welfare and senior citizen benefits have been cut. The growth of unemployment has been halted."*

In a debate preceding the passage of the resolution, SdRP members wondered to what extent these positive phenomena could be attributed to the present government and to what extent they were the result of the continuing policy of previous governments. Some claimed that the main advantage of the left is that it has been unable to disturb positive economic trends over the past year.

A discussion on whether the present coalition should be retained or changed took place in an atmosphere of visible satisfaction that the social democrats felt with the prime minister's proposal that the presidiums and parliamentary clubs of the PSL and the Social Left Alliance [SLD] meet very soon. Top SdRP officials claim they learned of this proposal from the Saturday press. The satisfaction was due to the fact that, until now, the SLD was the one to apply (to varying degrees) for meetings and discussions with the coalition partner. As Aleksander Kwasniewski straightforwardly stated, the reversal of roles was probably caused by fears on the part of the PSL that the coalition could be reconstructed and that the agreement the SLD and the Freedom Union reached during the second election of the president of Warsaw might be put into effect on a national scale.

Independently of the prime minister's initiative, Jozef Oleksy, who reported on the work of the SdRP Political Committee, also began discussions on the issue. Under the leadership of Oleksy, that committee is developing a future political program for the left. Its members do wonder, however, how far the SdRP program and its

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vision of the future state could be implemented under the present coalition. Because opinions on the issue differ, the Council debated whether the present coalition was to be kept or changed and, if changed, how, and, if kept, on what principles.

It turned out that a huge advantage of the SLD-PSL coalition is simply that it exists, and the advantages and disadvantages of the partner are widely known. The precedence of the Warsaw elections, however, has opened up new opportunities for the left. It demonstrated that the PSL does not have to be the only political partner. An awareness of this fact allows the leftists to demand more of the PSL. Within the SdRP, this situation is considered to be sound from the point of view of state interests.

Major Drawbacks...

...of the PSL-SLD government were considered by the SdRP to be a lack of clarity in political strategy and visions of the state, absence of coordination of activities leading to a violation of the principles of openness, lack of clarity and efficiency in governing and the style of politics. All these factors cause conflicts within the government. The official resolution also criticized the lack of an information policy, which results in the lack of public understanding and approval of some of the government decisions. The social democrats expect that at the meeting Waldemar Pawlak suggested, scheduled for 15 November, the prime minister will present both clubs with a list of the most serious problems and possible remedies. Specific solutions will be chosen on the basis of agreement within the coalition.

"It would be a misunderstanding if the meeting were to be similar to the hitherto assemblies of the coalition, where the SLD demanded substantial discussion and specific decisions, while the PSL kept silent or rebuffed its partners with curt replies," social democrats claim.

On Saturday, the Chief Council of the SdRP passed another resolution on the Constitution. A huge passage was devoted to (...)

The Stand of the Episcopate of Poland

(...) which had expressed its opinion on the Constitution in a special letter. "The rules of public life it laid down are, as we see it, a set of ethical recommendations," we read in the resolution. The Council goes on to say that "the new constitution should not prohibit anyone from applying these recommendations or prosecute people who do not observe them. We are also convinced that the constitution should not oblige anyone to obey these rules by engaging the law and state institutions in their execution."

SdRP authorities will also vote on an appeal to commemorate the 50th anniversary of victory over fascism and reclaiming the regained territories.

Formation of Warsaw SLD-UW Coalition Viewed

WS0811154794 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "Rapprochement Between UW and the SLD; President Takes Advantage"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By forming a coalition with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] in Warsaw, the Freedom Union [UW] played into the hands of its opponents. The Warsaw coalition of the SLD and UW has become the favorable target of attacks of rightist parties. Politicians of this side of the political scene are triumphantly announcing that the alliance of the "pink one" and the "red one," which they have been talking about for four years, is now a fact. Also, President Lech Walesa now has a good opportunity to repay UW and the SLD for the criticism he has recently gotten from them.

There have been different periods in the relations between Lech Walesa and UW (or earlier, the Democratic Union, UD, and the Liberal-Democratic Congress)—from the war in high places with UD, from the "you can feel recalled" to the close cooperation with Mazowiecki's party [UD] to recall the Olszewski government and to the cooperation that developed under the Suchocka cabinet. The same holds true of the SLD. There was a time when Lech Walesa supported the "left pillar" and a time when he fought against it.

Today the president is waging a war against both parties. UW and the SLD attacked the president for his recent moves: the recall of Marek Markiewicz and Maciej Ilowiecki from the National Council of Radio and Television, participation in the Drawsko affair, demand of the recall of Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

The president has reason to want to retaliate against the two parties: against UW for the "court of law" it has recently prepared for him, and against the SLD for the statements by the party's politicians in which they accused Lech Walesa of violating the law. First of all, he may retaliate for the recent Sejm resolution, passed thanks largely to the deputies of UW and the SLD, in which it was stated that the activities of Lech Walesa destabilize the constitutional order and violate the law.

Now UW alone has given Lech Walesa an argument, of which he does not have to take advantage. However, if he wants to, he may use it. He has ceased to be the only member of the post-Solidarity political scene that supported the "left pillar." By forming a coalition with the SLD in so prestigious a place as Warsaw, UW joined the "post-Solidarity club of the disloyal"—that is, those who in one way or another have had a romance with the SLD. Incidentally, the group is not very small; apart from Lech Walesa and UW, it encompasses the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Union for Real Politics, and the Movement of the Third Republic. They all used to form a joint coalition with the SLD in Warsaw.

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Walesa will take advantage of the fact that UW and the SLD have come closer to each other, that they have formed a coalition in Warsaw, and that they are planning joint activities in the Sejm (such as the change in the post of the Sejm Privatization Committee head). The president will be able to ward off the accusation that he used to support the "left pillar." He might say: Not only me.

Nonetheless, UW politicians will not be in a position to recall that there was a time when he had backed the SLD. This is all quite a lot on the eve of the presidential campaign.

Columnist on Conflict in PSL-SLD Coalition

WS0911123994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Nov 94 p 5

[Commentary by Krzysztof Gottesman: "Weakening Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recall of Bogdan Pek, deputy of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], from the post of chairman of the Sejm Ownership Transformations Committee, has two significant aspects. First, the activities of this politician, as a person who shares responsibility for the privatization process in Poland, was evaluated negatively. His black-and-white perception of reality, as well as the fact that he saw primarily evil, theft, and wheeling-dealing in the privatization process, was rejected by most of the committee members. One can therefore hazard a cautious guess that this decision will favorably affect the further course of privatization in Poland. It will be a signal that it is necessary to speed it up, that one cannot wait with key decisions. It is also a signal for Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak that the atmosphere surrounding privatization is changing in the Sejm.

The other aspect of yesterday's decision may cause even greater consequences. It may confirm that the election of Marcin Swiecicki as mayor of Warsaw, again with the votes of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Freedom Union (UW), was not just a pragmatic episode, as some leaders of these groupings claim. It may confirm that what we are witnessing now may be the beginning of a process of remodeling the political scene. Cooperation between the SLD and UW is becoming increasingly evident. Pek was recalled by deputies of these two parties; unity within the coalition was broken, and this could not have been accidental, the more so because such a possible course of the committee's session had been discussed for a long time.

The possibility cannot be ruled out that it is too early to speak about a change in the governing coalition. There is no doubt, however, that cooperation between the two governing groupings, the SLD and the PSL, has found itself probably in the greatest conflict in the history of this coalition. Pawlak's PSL was spectacularly defeated, That is how Pek's recall should be interpreted. The PSL, which had up to that moment always won and forced Kwasniewski's party to make humiliating concessions, was suddenly publicly chastised and forced to defend itself. It was with satisfaction that the SLD chairman spoke last Saturday about the coalition partner's anxiety, which he suggested was the reason for the PSL's proposal that the leaders of both parties and their parliamentary clubs hold a meeting soon.

Is the SLD thinking only about strengthening its position within the present configuration, or is it thinking of changing it? This remains to be seen. The election of the new chairman of the Sejm Privatization Committee will be one of the tests of its true intentions.

Consequences of Recalling PSL's Pek Considered

WS0911090094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska and Ewa Kaszuba: "Should Pek Be Recalled?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The attempt to recall Bogdan Pek from the post of head of the Sejm Privatization Committee will probably be put off until next week. Pek was to be replaced by Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. However, yesterday, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy mentioned a candidate of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]—Marek Olewinski. Zbigniew Siemiatkowski yesterday claimed that the SLD leadership had not officially considered any candidacy because it had decided that the election of the chairman is an internal affair of the committee.

What the Situation Was Like Until Yesterday

The motion requesting evaluation of work of the Privatization Committee's presidium has been submitted by the deputies of the Freedom Union [UW] and the SLD over and over for a long time. It was to be considered for the first time on 25 October. When, at the last session of the committee, discussion was broken off once again due to insufficient substantive preparation, the deputies of UW and the SLD voted that the evaluation would be made at the next session. It is being held today in the Nickel Plant in Lubin, where the deputies are to discuss its restructuring. According to UW's Grazyna Staniszewska, deputy chairperson of the committee, for this very reason the situation has become awkward. The presidium has prepared a motion requesting that the discussion of the committee's internal affairs be held at the next, routine session in Warsaw. This motion will certainly be supported by the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. It was not certain until late at night whether the motion would be supported by the SLD.

Staniszewska believes that the evaluation of the work of the committee's presidium does not necessarily have to end in the recall of the committee's chairman or the recall of the presidium. It is possible that the deputies will specify the conditions that would impose discipline on the presidium, such as the duty and the mode of appointing official experts of the committee (so far Janusz Szewczak, Bogdan Pek's personal adviser, and,

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before that, an expert of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, has acted as adviser to the entire committee). It is also possible that the deputies will also work out a schedule for the committee's activities.

"We are moving from one scandal to another. We are not dealing with the privatization procedures of individual areas," says Staniszewska. "Such activities are highly destructive. If the committee were to continue to work in this manner, it would be better if it were dissolved."

However, if the evaluation of the work of the committee's presidium were shattering, which is very likely, then its recall would become the most natural course of action.

Who Will Come After Pek?

Only yesterday it seemed that Pek's successor would be UW's Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. This is the agreement that is said to have been reached between the SLD and UW when they were forming the "Warsaw coalition." Meanwhile, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy said on Radio "Zet" yesterday that the post of Sejm Privatization Committee head will soon be assumed by SLD Deputy Marek Olewinski. Thus, it is supposed to be a change made within the ruling coalition, not a change in favor of a "new coalition partner, as it were." However, UW supports the general rule that the chairman of the committee cannot be a member of the same party as the privatization minister. It quotes the customs maintained in the previous Sejm, where the SLD did not agree that a liberal be elected as head of the committee. The SLD argued then that this may suggest that the committee's chairman protects his minister (Janusz Lewandowski of the Liberal-Democratic Congress). In such a situation, election of the committee's chairman without the votes of UW is practically impossible. Out of the 41 committee members, the SLD has 15, the UW 8, and the PSL 10 deputies. It is now certain how the four Union of Labor deputies will act.

SLD deputies, who at the Saturday session of the leadership of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic considered the possibility of changing the committee's chairman, were yesterday taken aback by Speaker Oleksy's statement. Marek Olewinski admitted that he only unofficially knows that he is a candidate for that post. Personally, because he can see that the election of a new chairman is possible only in conjunction with UW, he would be prepared to give his backing to the UW candidate. Incidentally, this would be in accordance with the joint decisions reached by the SLD and UW at the beginning of the present Sejm's term, which the SLD has violated. If this means that the SLD's stand will be firm, the committee's chairman may not be changed.

The Sejm speaker's statement may be interpreted as a good turn toward the PSL and the governing coalition. There is unofficial talk that Oleksy is not enthusiastic about moving closer to UW.

A Head for a Head

The PSL, whose opinions on Pek had been divided, united to defend him. The club claims that Pek's recall will be tantamount to covering up faults in the privatization process. The weapon the PSL can use at any moment is a motion requesting the recall of Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek. It was submitted before the Sejm's vacation but has not been discussed to date. However, an attack on Kaczmarek does not seem very likely. This would fuel the fire within the coalition, which the peasants do not really want now that the SLD and UW have come closer to each other. Also, the SLD does not fear any retaliation. The SLD cannot see any prominent figure of the coalition parties who would have a different view of privatization.

Poll on Voting Preferences Shows Slight Change

WS0911085894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Renata Wrobel: "UW Catches Up With the PSL; the Right Moves Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] remains the most popular political party in Poland. It has been at the top of the popularity ranking lists almost uninterruptedly since last year's parliamentary elections. The Freedom Union [UW] has caught up with the Polish Peasant Union [PSL] for the first time since May. The position of the Union of Labor [UP] and Solidarity is stable. Top ranking among rightist coalitions is the Alliance for Poland. Voting preferences of Poles in October were polled, as in each month, by the Social Research Laboratory [PBS] for RZECZPOSPOLITA.*

High and Low Tides

The political preferences of Poles, although more stable in comparison with previous years, are still relatively changeable. Fluctuations of 2 to 3 points are not unusual. They would not matter much if the specific parties had 40-50 percent of the "votes," but, inasmuch as few parties enjoy more than several percent of supporters, these differences may overturn the election ranking list.

One has to keep that in mind when analyzing the results of public opinion polls. A 2-percent fall in the popularity of the SLD, the PSL, or Solidarity and a comparable increase in support for UW may mark the beginning of a new trend but may also be incidental. The fact that UW has caught up with the PSL (the first rose, the latter fell) does not necessarily prove that the preferences of voters changed.

UW is still awaiting a major success. Since the fusion of the Democratic Union [UD] and the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD] last spring, the new party has never received support equal to the combined constituencies of the former UD and the KLD. Support for the Union in October sets a new high since the unification. It is too early, however, to state that a major breakthrough has

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taken place. Similarly, the slightly weaker position of the PSL does not necessarily have to point to a crisis. The party was ranked much lower for instance last May, when it received only 12 percent of the "votes." That result has not reoccurred since.

The Main Body of the Race

Two parties, UP and Solidarity, have been gaining insufficient support to catch up with the three national leaders but enough to secure seats in the Sejm, even providing for the sampling error. Far more uncertain is the future of the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], which rarely receive more than the required minimum support of 5 percent.

The Right as One or Separately

The rightist constituency still remains relatively large. This became evident after local government elections held in June. The main reasons the right is not represented in the Sejm are considered to be dispersion and inner conflicts. In recent months, several rightist coalitions have been formed. Initially, they received weak support, far below the sum of voices supporting the parties they comprise. It is difficult to say how long the particular rightist coalitions are likely to last. At present, the possibility of their breaking up is discussed more often than their chances for long-term cooperation.

The latest polls carried out by the PBS show that more people claim they would vote for the Alliance for Poland [PdP] (Center Accord, Christian-National Union, Szeremietiew's Movement for the Republic, and the Conservative Coalition). The 7 percent of supporters the PdP has is not enough to get seats in the Sejm (the minimum required for a coalition is 8 percent), yet this figure is twice as high compared with last month's. Another rightist alliance, the 11 November Accord (Union for Real Politics, the Conservative Party, Party of Christian Democrats, the Christian Peasant Alliance, and the National Democratic Party), still has low support of 3 percent.

Voter Preferences

	Sep 94	Oct 94
	Percent	
SLD	25	23
PSL	18	16
UW	14	16
Solidarity	11	9
PdP	4	7
KPN	4	6

* * *

The PBS carries out polls for RZECZPOSPOLITA on a monthly basis. The last poll was conducted on 22-23 October on a sampling group of 1,040 people representative of the adult population of Poland.

Government in Conflict With 'Wiadomosci' Newscast

WS0911105594 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik: "Only Bad News"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The government does not want to give us any information," claim journalists from "Wiadomosci" [main news program on television]. The government says: "They are biased." Is this the beginning of a war?*

"This is yet another serious crisis between 'Wiadomosci' and the government, especially its part representing the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]," says Adam Pieczynski, head of the television news.

The coalition, and PSL in particular, has been accusing "Wiadomosci" of unfairness. "How can we be fair if the government refuses to give us information?" asks an embittered Pieczynski. "You want examples? Only after Walendziak [president of Polish Television] personally intervened, a government member told us what the Polish prime minister talked about with the prime minister of Russia."

A Ban on Kolenda?

"One of our journalists is not admitted to the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM]," Pieczynski gives another example. That journalist is Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska, who, apart from reports for "Wiadomosci," prepares a weekly program about the government.

Three weeks ago, in a corridor at URM, an officer of the Personal Security Unit told Kolenda what Pawlak had said: "The prime minister said he would never give you an interview again." And the prime minister kept his word. Last week the Government Press Office refused to give Kolenda accreditation. The head of the office explained to the chief editor of "Wiadomosci" that "there is no ban on Kolenda; it was an incident."

Phone Call From Strak

It so happened that, after that conversation, the head of URM refused to give Kolenda an interview on Saturday. And a conflict broke out.

This is what happened. A few minutes after "Wiadomosci" was informed that the minister did not want to talk to Kolenda, the phone rang in the editor in chief's office. Piotr Skwiecinski, the deputy editor in chief, answered the call. The caller was Strak. He demanded an immediate explanation. He threatened to call Walendziak.

Skwiecinski looked into the matter. He found that, in the morning, on the very same day, after several hours of

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trying to get an interview with the minister, Kolenda learned from his head of cabinet's secretary that "there will be no interview."

Skwiecinski called Strak and told him what he had found out. The minister was surprised and began to investigate the matter himself. After a while, he called back and said that "yes, the secretary did say that, not because the minister did not want to give the interview but because he did not have the time."

According to "Wiadomosci" journalists, the minister was furious. He was disappointed that the program did not show him opening the "Poland Now" [Teraz Polska] competition that very same day. "You did not show Minister Strak, and Minister Strak was there," the head of URM allegedly shouted at Skwiecinski.

He demanded that "Wiadomosci" explain the issue of his refusing to give Kolenda an interview before the program was over.

Who Made a Fool of Himself?

"I tried to tell the minister that such an explanation would make him seem ridiculous," Skwiecinski told us yesterday. "Strak, however, insisted that we comply with his request." And Skwiecinski did comply. Jaroslaw Gugala, the anchor of the Saturday edition of the news, received the text while on the air. And he read the explanation with an ironical smile.

"Not that I was afraid of Walendziak," said Skwiecinski. when we asked him why he gave in to Strak. "I thought such an explanation would not harm 'Wiadomosci.'"

We did not get an opportunity to ask Minister Strak why he called the news.

Enchanted News

The heads of "Wiadomosci" clearly state they will not respond to every phone call from a politician in this way, unless an obvious error is made. They are embittered, however.

"'Wiadomosci,' just like in the times of the People's Republic, is treated like a political altar," says Grzegorz Miecugow, editor of the Saturday news. "We are not successful in our attempts to make 'Wiadomosci' apolitical. The order in which news items appear is immediately interpreted in political terms."

National Assembly Opens Constitutional Debate

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[FBIS Media Note] The debate over the constitution began in September after the Solidarity trade union submitted a draft, meeting the 5 September deadline and bringing the total number of drafts for consideration to seven. The final shape of the highest law in the country will be decided by the National Assembly (Zgromadzenie Narodowe), a body combining the two parliamentary chambers: the Sejm (lower house) and the Senate. The ruling coalition of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), with its majority in the 460-seat Sejm (132 PSL and 171 SLD deputies, for a total of 303) and the 100-seat Senate (76 senators), appeared to be able to push a new constitution through, but the coalition differs on many issues, and no deadline has been fixed for completing work on the constitution. SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski, also chairman of the Constitutional Committee in parliament, has predicted that the constitution will not be ready "earlier than April 1995." (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 9 September) Provided that work on the final, uniform constitutional draft is finished by December 1994 and voted on by the National Assembly, it could be put to a nationwide constitutional referendum in the spring of 1995. It would become law if approved in the referendum, but its rejection, according to the 23 September GAZETA WYBORCZA, could spell "the end of the current left-dominated parliament."

Regulations

The National Assembly, which is responsible for adopting a constitutional draft, met in its first session between 21 and 23 September under its chairman, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy. The first meeting of the session, in which President Lech Walesa participated, was dedicated to the appointment of the Regulation Commission to "determine the internal rules of the National Assembly and constitutional procedure," according to which the seven submitted drafts will be tackled. (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 22 September) According to Oleksy, the procedure adopted by the Regulation Commission for adopting a new constitution is "one of the most democratic in the world" in that future deliberations will include organizations that are not even in parliament and will be followed by a referendum in which society at large will determine if the document is to become law. Oleksy also said that the Assembly has a "good chance" to pass a constitution if its members "reject" or at least "moderate" their individual party interests and show the will to "compromise and refrain" from attempts to press for adoption of a "particular proposal." (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 22 September)

According to the rules adopted by the Regulation Commission, the Constitution must be passed in two readings by a two-thirds majority, with at least half the members present, and, unless presidential amendments are submitted, there will be a required third reading. (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 22 September) The Regulation Commission voted to consider all seven drafts in first reading debates and established that the Assembly chairman "can invite" representatives from those groups outside parliament that drafted constitutional proposals to participate in the meeting of the National Assembly's Council of Senior Parliament Members. It was also decided that the uniform (jednolity) text of the constitution prepared by the commission should be the subject of the second reading. (GAZETA WYBORCZA, 21 September)

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During the first session of the National Assembly, after voting on internal regulations was completed, seven draft constitutions were presented for discussion:

—Draft of the Constitutional Commission of the 1989-91 Senate session, adopted on 22 October 1991.

—Draft prepared by the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and the Union of Labor (UP).

—Draft of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD).

—Draft of the Democratic Union (UD), which joined with the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) in April 1994 to form the Freedom Union (UW).

—Draft of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

—Draft by President Lech Walesa.

—Draft of the NSZZ Solidarity trade union, which the union calls a civic proposal, having attracted double the required 500,000 signatures. This draft was submmitted at "the last minute," just meeting the deadline. (THE WARSAW VOICE, 2 October)

The Drafts Compared

Discussion of the seven drafts revealed that they embodied different concepts.

—The Senate's draft, for example, stressed "Christian values," which, in the words of Senator Alicja Grzeskowiak, "allowed the nation to endure even without statehood and independence and, through the centuries, formed the nation's identity." According to the 23 September GAZETA WYBORCZA, this draft evokes the tradition of the 3 May (1791) Constitution, stipulating a division of powers into executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

—The PSL-UP draft takes a different tack, replacing the Senate with a Self-Government Chamber that would give "an average citizen" participation in power. The president in this draft would be stripped of the special powers he has under the present Constitution. (POLSKA ZBROJNA, 26 September)

—The SLD draft, on the other hand, has been portrayed by SLD Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia as "an expression of social-democratic thought." The "citizen-friendly state," he declared, is both effective and progressive. An elected parliament, he said, will play "the dominant" role. (POLSKA ZBROJNA, 26 September)

—UW Deputy Jerzy Ciemniewski introduced his party's draft by claiming that it is set apart from the others by "pragmatism in striving for a law-abiding state and expression of care for its citizens." In this draft, the directly elected president will be able to play a more active role than he does under the present Constitution, depending on a "need that may arise." (POLSKA ZBROJNA, 26 September)

—The KPN's draft was presented by party leader Leszek Moczulski, who assured the National Assembly that the KPN constitution would "enable Poland to lift itself from some form of misconceived mutation of a parliamentary system," claiming that it offers "a realistic dimension to representative institutions." The KPN version reportedly calls for "decommunization of power," at the same time guaranteeing "good communication between all branches of power." (POLSKA ZBROJNA, 26 September)

—The constitution drafted by President Walesa's staff was presented by Lech Falandysz, minister and deputy chief in the Presidential Chancellery, who stressed that it establishes a presidential style of governing, giving the president strong executive powers, with the government being accountable to both parliament and the president. The Charter of Rights and Liberties (the Polish version of the Bill of Rights that was added to the "Small" [Interim] Constitution of 1992) is attached to the constitution to "assure everybody that the president will not have dictatorial power and to guarantee a wide range of civic rights." (GAZETA WYBORCZA, 23 September)

—The Solidarity draft was introduced by trade union leader Marian Krzaklewski, who claimed that, because it was "a civic proposal signed by 1.3 million people," it should be offered as an alternative to the final parliamentary draft in the constitutional referendum. The Krakow-based Solidarity weekly TYGODNIK MALOPOLSKA of 25 August described this draft's preamble as evoking "an irredentist, patriotic past and Christian roots." The 26 September POLSKA ZBROJNA likewise underscored the draft's "patriotic and national feelings" and stresses "societal solidarity." The goal of the state in this draft is said to be "the protection of democracy, the facilitation of state functioning, and the care for its citizens by meeting their expectations." The Senate in particular plays an important role as the "guardian" of the proposed legislative system.

MON Official on Officers Nominated for General

WS0811130494 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by "(pw)": "Nominations for Generals"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "The moment I heard what the statement of the Sejm committee investigating the Drawsko case would be, I knew I would not be a general," GAZETA WYBORCZA learned from one of the officers who was crossed off the list of nominees submitted to President Walesa for approval.

It is worth recalling that, on Friday, the Sejm subcommittee investigating the "Drawsko case" criticized the president and General Wilecki and pointed to Kolodziejczyk's mistakes. However, it recommended that Minister Kolodziejczyk remain in office. Just before that,

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Kolodziejczyk received from the Belweder his list of nominees, which was six names shorter. It was signed, on behalf of the president, by Mieczyslaw Wachowski. The list also included the handwritten note: "With the respect that is due you."

On 11 November in Namiestnikowski Palace, the following officers will meet at the nominations presentation ceremony: Brigade General Antoni Walczak, Colonel Jerzy Baranowski, Colonel Aleksander Bortnowski, Colonel Zbigniew Cieslik, Colonel Jozef Flis, Colonel Zbigniew Glowienka, Colonel Mieczyslaw Karus, Colonel Wojciech Kubiak, Colonel Tadeusz Kuziora, Colonel Andrzej Piotrowski, Colonel Zenon Werner, Colonel Franciszek Zygis, and Colonel Maciej Zytecki.

Lech Walesa gave the brigade general promotions primarily to those colonels whose divisions won the "Golden Gorget" in Drawsko for last year's training results.

"I heard the opinion in the Belweder that this is the first blow President Walesa has dealt us," said a high-ranking official of the National Defense Ministry [MON]. "I believe that by putting the Drawsko dinner participants in for promotion, Wilecki wanted to reward them for the stand they had taken in front of the Sejm National Defense Committee," he added. [passage omitted]

Army General Views Military Personnel Policies

WS0811140394 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Z.L.: "Walesa and Generals"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There will be fewer nominations for general than was proposed by National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. [passage omitted]

"It so happens that we do not really want to rapidly increase the number of generals in our Army," said General Roman Harmoza, general director in the Ministry of National Defense [MON], yesterday, while unconvincingly trying to minimize the problem of President Walesa's refusing to sign Minister Kolodziejczyk's promotion list. Colonel Tadeusz Balachowicz, head of the MON Cadres Department, said that there are 106 generals and admirals in our Army. However, there 431 so-called general posts. "These posts have been created for years. In this way, the authorities offset the low salaries of officers. It was known that, if someone occupied a general post—for example, the head of some center—he would never obtain a promotion to general. Instead of that, such a person could have an aide-de-camp or a secretary." This was how Gen. Harmoza explained the meanders of the cadre policy. Today, in line with the evaluation of the MON cadre services, there are not too many generals in Poland, if we compare this number to the actual forces. Many Western states have higher ratios.

The cadre movement in the Army is not lessening. As many as 2,500 professional soldiers left an Army of almost 90,000 professionals last year, 40 percent at their own request. This was a little less than in 1992 (approximately 3,000). It is a fact, however, that in recent years the military cadres have become much younger. The average age is now a little over 35 (in 1989 37.6). Entirely new phenomena are taking root. For example, the number of contract soldiers has risen to 1,000. Especially professional noncommissioned officers find jobs in barracks.

Ninety-three Polish officers are studying at foreign military academies, including 81 officers in the West. Right now five of our officers are studying in Russia. Several people are being educated in Czech and Hungarian academies. Polish officers' schools and academies are teaching relatively few foreign officers. Most of them come from West Europe. There are also Lithuanians. However, there is not even one Russian or Ukrainian officer.

The Polish Armed Forces have sent 804 candidates to military posts abroad. "Gradually, the knowledge of English ceases to be a problem," Gen. Harmoza said. He added that a group of officers has recently been sent to a Ukrainian and Belarusian language course, so that "officers holding specific posts will learn not only the language accepted in NATO but also languages of our neighbors." [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Explains Budget Aims

MM0811142594 Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 94 p 7

[Article by Donata Zmiejko: "It Will Not Collapse: Minister Kolodko on State Budget"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I hope that on 2 November the government will finally approve the 1995 budget proposal and that the first reading of the budget bill will take place in parliament on 16 November," Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko declared during last Thursday's conference with reporters from the local press. The finance minister admitted that he would be very surprised if everyone were happy with the proposed draft budget.

During the press conference, the deputy prime minister consulted his watch several times, and, at 1435 hours, he informed the journalists present in the hall that just then the electronic transfer of funds designed for the purchase of the Polish debt to the London Club was being effected in New York.

"The Polish state is just now getting rid of a debt of $6.5 million," the deputy prime minister announced contentedly before he went on with the meeting.

The Council of Ministers gave its final approval for the framework of the 1995 budget. The budget expenses were set at the level of 911 trillion zlotys [Z], while the revenues would be lower by Z87.8 trillion. The deputy

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prime minister explained that, in that situation, the deficit would amount to 3.3 percent of the estimated GNP level.

"Of course, I would prefer to take the bill to parliament with a smaller deficit that the one planned here," he said.

The finance minister is convinced that, eventually, the values of next year's GNP will turn out to be higher than the present estimate. In real terms, the state budget revenue will grow by 6.6 percent and the expenditure by 6.7 percent (allowing for the consequences of inflation). In his opinion, that represents considerable growth, and that is why certain circles could be expected to be critical of the work done by the finance minister.

Expenditure in the budget-funded sector would rise to 5 percent above the inflation rate. "This does not mean," Kolodko emphasized, "that we will see a real growth of 5 percent." Everything will depend on the rate of inflation and the nominal wage increases. According to current estimates, the increase in wages in that sector will represent 4.1 percent. The money needed for these increases—that is, Z6.4 trillion—will come from funds obtained as a result of changes in the taxation system.

According to the budget bill proposals, next year the budget-funded sector will see the highest salaries (calculated on the basis of the average pay in the budget-funded sector representing 100 percent) paid to employees of the following services: the judiciary (154.1 percent), the state administration (118.1 percent), communications (109.3 percent), and the higher education establishments (102.4 percent). The lowest pay will be allocated to the employees of the following services: tourist travel (80.8 percent), culture and the arts (87 percent), construction (86.1 percent), and local administration (92.6 percent).

Asked about the discrepancy between the projected budget expenditure and the demands of individual ministers (considering that the budget proposal was prepared by the Finance Ministry), Kolodko replied that the discrepancies were of a magnitude that he would be "able to overcome." He also disclosed that the only government minister who did not submit a demand for additional funds was Minister Kolodko. He stressed that the reason he did that was not that his department had no needs.

"We should match our proposed ways and programs of action to the current state of our public finances because it is impossible to do it the other way around," he added.

Before the press conference, Deputy Finance Minister Elzbieta Chojna-Duch told journalists that the aforementioned discrepancies reached the sum of Z40 trillion. That gap is scheduled to be conclusively sorted out next Wednesday.

"I would like to see the funds from the planned financial reserve allocated to development programs rather than social welfare benefit schemes," the deputy prime minister explained.

Further negotiations with various sectors will be conducted exclusively on the principle of "something for something." Only those able to present convincing programs of viable operations likely to bring sufficient profits can count on being allocated larger sums of money.

Kolodko also explained that, as finance minister, he would resist the tendency to "give more to everyone because otherwise everything would collapse."

"Things are really not as bad as that, and they will not collapse," he asserted.

Asked about his reaction to the appeal by university rectors to allocate more funds to the higher education sector, Kolodko said that he himself is a professor and, as such, understands their concern about money.

"On the other hand, I do not understand those eminent intellectuals, rectors or professors, who speak in half-finished sentences. After all, if you publicly postulate that greater outlays should be made on education, you should immediately follow that suggestion by answering the question of who should instead have his budget funds reduced," the deputy prime minister stated.

Commenting, in turn, on President Lech Walesa's repeated criticism of the Strategy for Poland program, Kolodko said that he hoped that none of the president's comments would damage the reform's chances.

"I conclude from my conversation with the president that he is, as usual, open to the possibility of endorsing the fair and necessary legislative acts on which we are now working," he explained.

The finance minister hopes that parliament will work intensively enough to make it possible for President Walesa still to sign the 1995 budget bill before the end of the year.

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Minister Attends Seminar on European Security

AU0811134794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The second session of the seminar entitled Central Europe in a System of European Security took place this morning in the halls of the Parliament Palace. Today's session was entitled European Integration in the Domain of Security: The Joint Evaluation of Risks, and was chaired by Sir Dudley Smith, president of the Western European Union [WEU] Assembly.

In a substantial speech, Romanian National Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca examined risk-assessing methods on the European continent, ways to counter such risks, and the appraisal of the results of the risk-eliminating steps. According to the expertise of the Romanian party, imbalances still exist in the distribution of cooperation interests and security arrangements. The medium-term solution to this, Mr. Tinca remarked, would be to approach the process of integration of the central European states taking special care to encourage them to adopt a coherent and joint perception of stability and security in this part of the continent.

Mr. Tinca also suggested a number of actions intended to further cooperation between Romania and the WEU, concretely referring to the organization of joint military exercises. The Romanian party has forwarded proposals on joint military drills to NATO, among which is one on the Danube River, which could also fullfill certain WEU interests.

Mr. Tinca also said that the idea of inviting observers from central European countries to visit the WEU Planning Cell seems very opportune, and Romania will immediately comply should such an invitation be officially addressed to it.

The session then continued, with speeches by Nestor Peckriaux, WEU vice president; Matyas Eorsi, permanent WEU observer and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Hungarian Parliament; and Ion Diaconescu, member of the Romanian delegation to the WEU Assembly.

In his speech, Mr. Peckriaux pointed out that peace and stability have to be viewed globally, the integration process being, in his opinion, a progressive one. According to Peckriaux, the central European countries ought to display tolerance and accept the principle of inviolability and integrity of state borders, and the internal evolution of the WEU-associated countries is essential for the homogeneity of the political institutions and the observance of democratic values.

Matyas Eorsi assessed that the level of regional cooperation of the central European countries and their integration within Euro-Atlantic structures should be parallel processes. The Hungarian representative remarked, further, that the central European countries are not involved in armed conflicts and possible disputes are exclusively political. To conclude his speech, Matyas Eorsi declared he is optimistic as regards the future of Europe and insisted upon the fact that the security of our continent is indivisible, as there is no such thing as the security of each country but rather a common European security.

Ion Diaconescu, in turn, assessed that European integration and its genuinely European sense is a priority necessity for the European nations faithful to the principles of democracy. Mr. Diaconescu also said that Romania is fully determined to engage in all the formulas for dialogue initiated by the European Union and the WEU, and that the Romanian party appreciates West Europe's commitment to ensuring stability in central Europe. Romania hopes that it will be supported in concordance with its weight and importance in the central European region.

Our correspondent Doina Saiciuc informs us that the second half of today's session was devoted to debates.

Parliamentary Faction Appoints New Leader

AU0811142194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today, during the weekly news conference of the Liberal Party '93 [PL-93], Deputy Dinu Patriciu announced he has stepped down as leader of that party's faction in the Chamber of Deputies. That position has been taken over by Mr. Sorin Pantis. The change was determined by the views of certain members of that party. According to these views, things have to be better organized. Therefore, during yesterday's session of the PL-93 Steering Committee and parliamentary faction, a new functioning statute of the parliamentary faction was worked out and adopted, a statute that does not correspond with his liberal view, Mr. Patriciu asserted.

For his part, Sorin Pantis said that the new statute might be an exceedingly formal one, but that he would try to turn it into a viable method to liven up the activity of the parliamentary group in the Chamber of Deputies. [passage omitted]

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Reportage on, Reaction to Bihac Area Combat

Intense Fighting, Overflights

AU0811154094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from the Bihac front]

[FBIS Translated Text] The most intensive fighting is taking place in the liberated areas of the Bihac Municipality, where the defense lines of the 5th Corps are coming under fierce artillery and tank attacks, supported by the aggressor's infantry forces. The Knin Corps and other corps from the so-called Serbian Krajina are taking part in the fighting. The 5th Corps members are fiercely responding to the assaults on the free parts of the Bihac Municipality.

Nor is the joint aggressor calm on the border with Croatia. From the UN Protected Areas [UNPA], the so-called Serbian Krajina, the enemy is attacking the front lines and populated areas in the Bihac, Velika Kladusa, and Cazin municipalities today. Today the villages of Veliki Skocaj and Medjudrazje were shelled from the direction of Meljinovac and Zeljezno Polje situated in the UNPA zones, while overflights of enemy helicopters, accompanied by fighter aircraft, were reported in the region of Gola Pljesivica. The helicopters and fighters took off from Udbina airport in the Korenica Municipality, from where the Bihac Municipality is most often attacked.

'Intensive Fighting'

AU0811195694

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 8 November carries within its regular newscast several reports on the combat situation in the republic.

According to Bihac correspondent Muhamed Mulic, "the most intensive fighting is taking place in the liberated parts of the Bihac region, where the 5th Corps defense lines are coming under strong artillery and tank attacks, as well as the aggressor's infantry units. Taking part in these attacks are the Knin and other corps from the so-called Serbian Krajina. The fighters of the 5th Corps are responding fiercely to these attacks on the free parts of the Bihac region. The joint aggressors are not keeping still on the border toward Croatia either. From the UNPA [UN Protection Areas] in the so-called Serbian Krajina, the enemy today attacked the first lines of defense, as well as settlements in the Bihac, Velika Kladusa, and Cazin communes."

Reporting on the situation in the 7th Corps theater of operations, correspondent Razija Mehic reports that "with the strong artillery support, the aggressors tried on several occasions today to breach our defense lines, but thanks to the energetic response by our fighters, they were pushed back to their original positions, suffering at the same time losses in terms of men and equipment."

The correspondent reports on the situation in the 3d Corps theater of operations that "several dozen square kilometers have again been added to the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The army liberated the villages of Djurici, Panici, Nijici, Jelici, Kuzici, Aleksici, Stankovici, and a number of dominant peaks, among which the most important are Ruda, Hajducka Kosa, Javor, Zelinika, and Jasenovac. With minimal losses, the fighters of the 3-North Operations Group put a large number of aggressor soldiers out of action, captured several military and civilian vehicles, and a large amount of equipment, grenades, and ammunition. The 3d Corps is coming increasingly close to Teslic and this latest extremely well coordinated and executed operation is instilling additional fear into Karadzic's soldiers."

According to the studio announcer, the "chetniks carried out attacks in the 2nd Corps theater of operations, targeting the defense lines with mortars. In the Lukavica area, one person was wounded. Attacks on the center of Gracanica have started this evening."

Tuzla correspondent Salih Brkic reports that the "Karadzic's falangists have fired eight tank and howitzer shells at the town. In these new criminal attacks on a UN protected area, one resident of Tuzla was killed and two seriously wounded. The material damage is substantial. The general danger alarm is still in force in Tuzla"

The studio announcer says that the "day has also been exceptionally difficult in Teocak. Two people were wounded by artillery and mortar weapons." According to him "artillery attacks on the fighters of the 206th Chivalrous Brigade in the Zvornik area have been going on since early this morning. These attacks are still going this evening." He says that "over 1,500 shells have been fired at this area."

Salih Haliadzic reports from Visoko that "at about 1300 [1200 GMT], the chetniks fired two 120-mm mortar bombs on Prijeko. Between 1300 and 1345, the chetniks fired four 82-mm shells from Madino Brdo on our defense lines in Kralupi. Fresh artillery attacks took place at about 1500."

The studio announcer says that "owing to aggressor artillery attacks, the general alarm has been sounded in the Breza area on two occasions."

According to the studio announcer, a Serbian G-4 plane today overflew Bihac. The plane was spotted by members of the 5th Corps."

Confirming the flight by a Serb aircraft, correspondent Nada al- Isa reports that "it was established that the aircraft took off from the Udbina airfield in the UNPA in Croatia. NATO aircraft did not react to this provocative flight, because they did not appear until a few minutes after the Serbian aircraft had returned to the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina. It is assumed that the purpose of the aggressor's flight was surveillance of the 5th Corps positions."

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Serbs Preparing Offensive

AU0811213694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The artillery and infantry attacks on the newly established defense lines on Bihac have been coming in waves. Just this afternoon, that is, this evening, several thousand shells have landed on the defense lines, that is, the newly liberated villages that are literally disappearing from the face of the earth.

From the so-called Serb autonomous province of Krajina [word indistinct] shelling of the Cazin and Velika Kladusa areas, and parts of the Bihac Commune. Civilians are again among the casualties. This afternoon they fired antiaircraft weapons at these areas.

That the chetniks are preparing to launch an offensive on this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina is confirmed by today's overflights of helicopters on the Bihac front, which were obviously bringing in more chetniks and weapons. According to confirmed information, this part of the republic is under attack by over 7,000 chetniks that have been brought here from Bijeljina, Banja Luka, Knin, and Donji Lapac, that is, from the entire so-called Serb autonomous province of Krajina, and this evening the chetnik forces have been spotted massing and reinforcing.

This situation has only made the humanitarian situation even worse, and it is just below crisis level. One has to stress, however, the readiness of the local population to defend themselves [word indistinct]. This is best confirmed by the actions by the people's army and the [word indistinct] of the 5th Corps heroes to defend their country. The guarantees of that are in the stability of the newly achieved lines throughout the 5th Corps theater of operations.

Serbs Claim Victory

LD0811214994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 9 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb army said Tuesday that the Muslim army near the town of Bihac in northwest Bosnia had been completely surrounded and was facing annihilation.

Bosnian news agency SRNA quoted the Bosnian Serb army as saying it had completely crushed the Muslim troops in the southeast part of the Bihac-Krupa front in the area of the Dubovska, Ripac Gorge and [words indistinct] them to withdraw in disorder.

The Bosnian Serb army said it was in possession of 'all strategically important points' in that region and that it had encircled several hundred soldiers of the Fifth Muslim Corps.

Two weeks ago the Fifth Muslim Corps had launched an offensive from the United Nations protected zone of Bihac and captured 200 square km of Serb-held territory.

The Muslim offensive forced more than 11,000 women, children and the elderly to flee the region.

The Bosnian Serb Army said that joint Muslim-Croat units continued artillery and infantry attacks on Serb positions in the region of Kupres in central Bosnia.

Kupres, which had a majority Serb population before the start of the civil war in Bosnia and which was held by the Serbs since April 1992, was siezed by the Croats last Thursday who then refused to allow the Muslims to enter the town.

SRNA said that in the Kupres plateau the Muslim and Croat troops had clashed and that the Croat artillery had fired on Muslim positions on Tuesday.

The Bosnian Serb Army said Tuesday that the Croat artillery attack on Monday on the Serb-held town of Brcko in northern Bosnia, had not killed anyone.

From the direction of Orasje in northern Bosnia and from the territory of neighboring Croatia, the Croats had fired 13 rocket and artillery shells and close to 200 missiles on Serb settlements and positions along the narrow corridor which links the eastern and western parts of the Bosnian Serb republic.

UN Battalion Cut Off

AU0811160894 Paris AFP in English 1551 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 8 (AFP)—A Bangladeshi battalion of UN troops was cut off in northwestern Bosnia by Croatian Serbs and their supplies were dwindling, its spokesman Major Mohamed Beshir said Tuesday [8 November], prompting UN spokesman in Zagreb Michael Williams to express fears for their wellbeing.

Williams said the battalion had been stuck in the region bordering Knin, the area of Croatia held by secessionist Serbs, for several days.

He added UN deputy commander General Ray Crabbe had Monday tried to negotiate their freedom in talks with authorities in Knin.

Williams also said the commander of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Sir Michael Rose, had Sunday been forced to shelve plans to visit the Bangladeshis after officials in Knin refused to allow him into the area via Maljevac, the only point of entry from Croatia.

The Bangladeshis replaced a 1,300-strong French contingent in October in the Moslem enclave of Bihac in western Bosnia just prior to the launch by government forces of a successful offensive against Bosnian Serb troops.

The enclave, home to some 300,000 people, is close enough to Serb-held areas of Croatia to come within range of Serb artillery barrages defending the Serb-held

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town of Bosanska Krupa, now under siege from mainly Moslem Bosnian government forces.

Beshir told AFP his contingent was short of fuel and if the blockade of his men continued their very lives would be at stake. He said he hoped his superiors would agree with the seriousness of the situation.

No humanitarian convoys have reached the enclave since last May, a UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman said in Zagreb, with only tiny amounts of any kind of aid reaching the area since.

According to Beshir, military skirmishes in the region had died down Tuesday. On Monday, four shells—presumed to have been fired by Croatian Serbs—fell on the southern and southeastern fringes of Bihac town.

UN Warns of Impending Escalation Around Doboj

AU0811191694 Paris AFP in English 1853 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 8 (AFP)—An escalation in fighting is impending in northeastern Bosnia around Doboj, shaken by more than 800 explosions Monday [7 November], United Nations spokesman in Zagreb Michael Williams said Tuesday.

Doboj, Bosnia's main road and rail link, is currently under Serb control, but was mainly Moslem before the war broke out almost three years ago. The town is earmarked to join the Moslem-Croatian federation formed earlier this year under the terms of an international peace plan rejected by the Bosnian Serbs.

Williams said the artillery barrages were a Bosnian Serb reply to a recent offensive by the mainly Moslem Bosnian Government Army which reaped their first territorial gains in months.

The Red Cross said in Zagreb it had delivered 2.5 tonnes of medicines to Doboj to aid "some 200 injured."

According to the UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR), the Bosnian Serbs, attacked on several points, were "the most active" force between Doboj and the Bosanska Posavina corridor, which links Serb-held land in Bosnia and Croatia.

The Serbs are also under pressure elsewhere in Bosnia, in the face of Moslem-led and Bosnian Croat (HVO) offensives in the western Moslem enclave of Bihac and to the south-east and north of Sarajevo.

Saying the Serbs were slowly responding to the offensives, Williams said he hoped that under political and military pressure, the Bosnian Serbs would end up accepting the peace plan which would give them 49 percent of Bosnian land, whereas they now control fully 70 percent.

He said his qualified optimism was boosted by a meeting Monday between the United Nation's civilian affairs coordinator for Bosnia, Victor Andreyev, and Bosnian Serb officials at their Bosnian headquarters in Pale, near Sarajevo.

Two British Soldiers Shot, Wounded in Gorazde

AU0811195494 Paris AFP in English 1942 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 8 (AFP)—Two British soldiers were shot and wounded Tuesday [8 November] while on foot patrol in the Moslem-held eastern enclave of Gorazde, a UN spokesman said here.

Major Sol Koos said Serb forces fired at the British soldiers, two of whom received slight leg wounds which did not require their medical evacuation from the besieged pocket.

A formal protest was made to Serb forces in the area, he added.

UN soldiers in Gorazde are carrying out more foot patrols and using pack mules to carry supplies because of a lack of fuel for their vehicles resulting from a Serb blockade of UN fuel convoys to the enclaves.

UN Suspects Serbs in Sarajevo Children's Deaths

AU0811204394 Paris AFP in English 2019 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 8 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on Tuesday [8 November] said it suspected, but could not prove, that Bosnian Serbs fired a mortar round that killed two children and wounded six other people Tuesday afternoon in the centre of Sarajevo.

"It was not clear as to precisely where the mortar was fired from," UNPROFOR said in a statement.

"Although the supposition must be that is was fired by the BSA (Bosnian Serb army), immediate access to the site and to forensic evidence on the ground was denied by the B-H (Bosnian) police, therefore, without unequivocal evidence, a military response had been ruled out at this stage," the statement added.

UN monitors, who were earlier dispatched to the town centre where the shell exploded, reported finding a crater, but said that fragments of the shell had been removed by local police.

This would make it impossible to identify the type of ordnance used or assess where it was fired from.

UN Bosnia commander General Sir Michael Rose has summoned the Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serb military commanders to the airport on Wednesday "to try and halt the deterioration of the situation."

An 11-year-old girl was also shot dead in her home near the confrontation line Tuesday afternoon by a bullet fired from the Serb-held part of town, the statement said, adding that such incidents "are totally unacceptable"

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and "incompatible with assurances given to UNPROFOR" by both warring parties.

UN Threatens To Pull Out If Situation Worsens

LD0811185794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1721 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—United Nations Spokesman Michael Williams said Tuesday the U.N. Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] could withdraw from Bosnia-Herzegovina if the situation there worsened.

Williams told a news conference in Zagreb that the decision was made by U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali (?through) his special envoy Yasushi Akashi, UNPROFOR Commander for Former Yugoslavia Bertrand de Lapresle and co-chairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg at a meeting in Geneva on Monday.

Williams said the meeting expressed concern over the recent escalation of the war in Bosnia, but also hoped the Bosnian Serbs might 'after strong political pressure and the latest military pressure, change their stand toward the 'Contact Group' plan.'

The Bosnian Serbs rejected the Contact Group maps on the territorial division of Bosnia in August, but said they were ready to continue supporting the peace process.

Williams said the Geneva meeting concluded that the 'situation in Croatia was improving.'

This was based on the resumption of talks between Croatia and Serb Krajina, and between Yugoslavia and Croatia, Williams said.

Serbs Said To Try Bosanska Krupa Officials

AU0811190394 Paris AFP in English 1848 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] SARAJEVO, Nov 8 (AFP) - Intense fighting between Bosnian Serbs and Moslems spread Tuesday [8 Nov] to Sarajevo, killing at least three civilians, as sniper fire and unconfirmed mortar blasts threatened a nine-month ban on heavy weapons. [passage omitted]

The Serbs apparently sought to raise tension here as a "political message" to the Moslem-led government, senior UN officers suggested here. [passage omitted]

The dramatic increase in the level of violence here was on a level unseen since a shelling truce was agreed for inhabited areas of the city in February, according to observers here. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serb television reported that a martial court was set up Tuesday in the west of the country to try officials from Serb-held Bosanska Krupa who had "failed to take measures following the proclamation of a state of war." Bosanska Krupa is currently besieged by Moslem-led government forces who launched a wide-scale offensive out of their western Bihac enclave two weeks ago.

UN Reports Serb Counterattack at Bosanska Krupa

AU0911112894 Paris AFP in English 0956 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 9 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs are counter-attacking and have regained ground outside Bosanska Krupa, one of the main targets of a recent government-launched offensive in the west of the country, a UN spokesman said here Wednesday.

The Serbs have pushed back government forces by some four kilometers (2.5 miles) to the south of the town, UN Protection Force spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon said.

Meanwhile, Serb Pale radio said its forces were attacking Wednesday morning in a westerly direction out of Veliki Radic and Mali Radic, two villages south of Bosanska Krupa. Two other hamlets in the area were recaptured by the Serbs Tuesday night, the radio added.

Meanwhile, artillery duels continued elsewhere around the Moslem- held Bihac pocket from where government forces broke out in a large scale offensive just over two weeks ago.

Government forces initially nearly surrounded Bosanska Krupa and captured over 250 square kilometers (100 square miles) of territory, according to the UN.

Ganic Protests UN Failure To Protect Sarajevo

AU0811210894 Paris AFP in English 2057 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by Francis Curta]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 8 (AFP)—The UN Tuesday [8 November] said it suspected, but could not prove, that Bosnian Serbs had fired a mortar round that killed two children and wounded six other people Tuesday afternoon in the centre of Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

UN Sarajevo sector commander General Herve Gobilliard met Tuesday evening with Bosnian vice-president Ejup Ganic who protested at the UN's alleged failure to protect the civilian population from shelling attacks.

Gobilliard said the UN would do its best to investigate the attack and try to determine the origin of fire, UN officers said.

The UN, acting in concert with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, has pledged to defend Sarajevo from shelling attacks, after warning in February it would attack any heavy weapon found within a 20 kilometer radius of the town.

Meanwhile, casualty figures still varied several hours after the attack.

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Local hospitals spoke of a total of four killed and 10 wounded.

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], for its part, spoke of an 11-year-old girl shot dead in her home near the confrontation line, along with two girls, aged 10 and 11, killed by the shell.

AFP at Kosevo hospital saw a woman, possibly in her 20's, with one badly-mangled foot, who was pronounced dead on arrival. [passage omitted]

UN: Army Shells Krajina Serbs Across Border

AU0911085994 Paris AFP in English 0825 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 9 (AFP)—Bosnian Government forces in the west of the country are shelling secessionist Croatian Serbs across the international border, a UN military spokesman said here Wednesday.

The Bosnian shelling, out of the Moslem-held border town of Velika Kladusa, follows Croatian Serb bombardments of that town and others nearby in support of Bosnian Serb forces.

Monday's cross-border shelling was the first recorded instance of such action by Moslem-led forces and followed a warning by the Sarajevo government that it would strike back at the Croatian Serbs if they continued their attacks, Major Herve Gourmelon said here.

Meanwhile, Bosnian Serb forces have regained ground around the besieged town of Bosanska Krupa which has borne the brunt of recent government-launched attacks east of the Moslem-held Bihac enclave, Gourmelon said.

The Serbs had pushed back government forces by some 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) to the south of the town, he said.

Artillery duels continued elsewhere around Bihac pocket from where government forces first launched a large-scale offensive over two weeks ago, rolling Serbs back and capturing over 250 square kilometers (100 square miles) of territory.

Government, Serb Commanders Refuse To Meet

AU0911132294 Paris AFP in English 1258 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 9 (AFP)—Bosnian Government and Serb military commanders have refused to meet jointly to discuss the resurgence of violence in and around Sarajevo, the United Nations said here Wednesday.

Instead, UN Bosnia Force commander General Sir Michael Rose would try to hold separate bilateral meetings with the two top leaders, General Ratko Delic for the Serbs and General Rasim Delic for the Moslem-led government forces, a spokesman said here. Rose had called on the two generals to meet at Sarajevo airport to discuss the worsening security situation here following sniping and a mortar attack which left at least four civilians dead and six wounded on Tuesday in the city. Responsibility for the mortar attack, the first near the town centre since February, was not known.

Rose was expected to meet Mladic Wednesday afternoon and the United Nations hoped bilateral talks would later lead to both sides sitting down together, UN Protection Force spokesman Lt.-Col. Tim Spicer said. Rose "has let his feelings be known very strongly to both sides," Spicer said, adding that a joint meeting was needed to "try to straighten the situation out" in the wake of the escalating level of violence of the past few days.

Tuesday's mortar attack which left three dead, including two girls aged 10 and 11, and several wounded, and the shooting dead of another 11-year-old girl should "serve as an awful and bloody reminder of the threat of renewed all-out war which hangs over the city and over all of Bosnia-Herzegovina," UN civil spokesman Thant Myint-U said.

"The recent rise in armed fighting within and around the city of Sarajevo must be stopped. "If the security situation continues to deteriorate we can only fear more attacks such as those of yesterday," he added.

The UN spokesmen expressed concern at the fact that Bosnian police had cleared up the site of the mortar attack, preventing UN monitors from carrying out a proper investigation.

Spicer blamed Bosnian Government forces for the firing Tuesday of a rocket-propelled grenade in the city which wounded a 4-year-old boy and slightly injured a nearby French UN soldier. The rocket could only have been fired from Bosnian Government- held territory in the city, he said. The escalating attacks, resulting partly from growing confrontation elsewhere in the country, have increased the level of fear in the city, the United Nations conceded.

"When people continually violate peaceful agreements that they have asked for and have actually worked for some time, then you can only expect the situation to deteriorate," Spicer said. "And that will put us in a position where we will have to consider, at the appropriate time, military action," he added.

A UN spokesman said Wednesday that Bosnian Serbs were counter- attacking and had regained ground outside Bosanska Krupa, one of the main targets of a recent government-launched offensive in the west of the country.

The Serbs have pushed back government forces by some four kilometers (2.5 miles) to the south of the town, UN Protection Force spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon said.

Meanwhile, Serb Pale radio said its forces were attacking Wednesday morning in a westerly direction out of Veliki Radic and Mali Radic, two villages south of Bosanska Krupa.

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Sandzak's Ugljanin Comments on Tragedy in Province

AU0911092794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The first official visit by the delegation of the Muslim National Council and the coordinating body of the Party of Democratic Action for Sandzak to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was the reason for today's news conference at which the council's president, Sulejman Ugljanin, spoke. We have chosen this brief statement for this program:

[Begin Ugljanin recording] Our tragedy, naturally, started with the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some 20 days after the beginning of the open aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbo-Montenegrin parliament passed the so-called Zabljak constitution, from which the Muslims have been excluded as a constituent people. Unfortunately, immediately after the exclusion from the constitution, they then physically started a classic ethnic cleansing of the Muslim-Bosniak people from Sandzak. [Words indistinct] tragedy we managed to bring over a permanent CSCE mission to Sandzak, which arrived in October 1992. However, not even the CSCE mission managed to halt the ethnic cleansing of Sandzak. Since the beginning of the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro on Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Pljevlja and Priboj alone, 317 residential and commercial premises owned by the Muslim-Bosniaks have been burnt down or blown up. To this date, 68 Muslims have been killed and approximately 200 people have been kidnapped. There are more of these bleak figures, which I would not like to quote now, [words indistinct]. I can say that our goal is not so much to speak to the Bosnian public about what is happening in Sandzak because a far greater tragedy is going on here. Our main goal is, among other things, to [words indistinct] our most important institutions under the state leadership, see what is the best solution for the overall national question, bearing in mind that an international conference is underway at which the status of the countries on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Army Offensives Worsen Serb Refugee Situation

AU0811155794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the latest military developments in the regions of Bihac, Bosanska Krupa, Kulen Vakuf, and Kupres, the fleeing Serbian population has been accepted by the neighboring communes, which had already been taking care of a large number of refugees. There are about 22,000 of them now.

At the invitation of the Serb republic red cross, last week the delegation of the Yugoslav Red Cross visited the region. There it was informed about the current situation with the refugees, and how humanitarian aid was being supplied to the territory of the Serb republic.

The Yugoslav Red Cross held a news conference upon their return. Katarina Andric-Milosavljevic reports:

[Begin Andric-Milosavljevic recording] The population fled in the direction of Ripac, Bosanski Petrovac, Kupres, Cikovo, Kulen Vakuf, and Donji Lapac. After a few days the communes of Novi Grad, Sanski Most, Kljuc, Mrkonjic Grad, Drvar, and Prijedor took in the rest of the refugees. Most of them, some 3,800, were taken in by Bosanski Petrovac, some 6,000 by Sipovo, 2,000 by Lapac, and 1,200 by Sanski Most.

The refugees from Kupres, about 6,500 of them, have been taken in by Jesenice, Arapusa, and neighboring communes. The refugees are mostly women, children, and the elderly and the weak, who could not take anything with them except a few bags. This was stated by Dr. Slobodanka Gruden, chairman of the Serbian Red Cross. Most of them have been refugees twice in the last two years.

The situation in all these communes is very tough. The most urgent needs include medicine, food, clothing, and shoes, as well as fuel for the heating of hospitals, refugee centers, and for the transportation of the wounded, Dr. Gruden stressed. Sipovo is one of the communes worst hit. In one hotel alone some 500 refugees are accommodated without heating, hot water, or food.

The local Red Cross of the Banja Luka region and the surrounding communes, as well as the International Committee of the Red Cross are involved in helping the refugees. The delegation of the Yugoslav Red Cross has sent 100 tones of food, medicine, and blankets to the people of Drvar, Lapac, and [Bosanski] Petrovac. However, all the aid so far, including that delivered by the UNHCR, has not been sufficient. A broader action by all the humanitarian organizations from this region is needed to provide these long- suffering people with more aid in blankets, mattresses, heating stoves, and sheets of glass. These items do not appear on the lists for humanitarian aid, but they are very important for their survival. The Yugoslav Red Cross stresses that it is necessary to widen the list of humanitarian aid so that the parcels can cross the Drina border and the UN Protection Force controls without hindrance. [end recording]

Delic Rules Out Renewed Clashes With HVO

AU0911090094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Statement by Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army]

[FBIS Translated Text] With a joint combat engagement we shall find it easier to accomplish the common goal—the federation and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Conditions for the constituting of the Federal Army would be created by this and they would be created most easily through joint combat activities. I sincerely hope that the positive trend that we are facing now regarding the combat mechanism of the Bosnia-Herzegovina

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Republic and federation will be consistently observed and endorsed at the assembly session, Army General Rasim Delic stated for B-H PRESS news agency.

Speaking about the joint combat engagement of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] through the prism of political relations, General Delic emphasized that this directly depends on the creation of political preconditions. He emphasized that soldiers in the field would have it much easier in more favorable political conditions.

We are now going through a phase of inventing political solutions, however, personally I believe that there is no danger of renewed clashes. We are facing a painstaking political struggle and it is up to the politicians to fight on this front. The Bosnia- Herzegovina Army will strive, naturally, if the HVO wanted the same, to provide military conditions in which the politicians would find solutions more easily, General Delic said.

Unmasking the rumors that clashes about the alleged division of war booty have taken place between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO in Kupres, General Delic emphasized that these rumors were malicious and fabricated, to say the least. He stressed that joint combat activities were undertaken in Kupres. This, according to General Delic, meant a divided theater of combat activity. The HVO was active in one part of the theater of combat and the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army in the other, and there could be no intertwining here. No clashes over the division of booty could have happened because the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO were not located on the same territory but were parallel to one another, General Delic said.

Quantity, Quality of Muslim Weaponry Improving

BR0911120494 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 9 Nov 94 p 17

[Interview with Klaus von Helldorff, "European Commission official in charge of Mostar's financial administration," by Fabio Luppino in Rome; date not given: "Two Mostars: Loveless Marriage"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rome—*"To arm the Muslims would be to submit to the rationale of war." This message was sent to the Security Council by Klaus von Helldorff, the European Commission official now in charge of Mostar's financial administration. Helldorff is the council's budget chief, while the city's mayor is Hars Koschnick. There are also Spaniards, Dutch, Greeks, and Italians in this European administration of Mostar established some months ago. Helldorff is in Rome to attend a conference organized by Europe's young federalists—"Berlin or Sarajevo? Europe Between Unity and Nationalism"—at La Sapienza University to mark the fifth anniversary of the collapse of the Wall.*

[Luppino] How do you explain the present Muslim-Croatian offensive in Bosnia?

[Helldorff] It is essentially a Bosnian offensive that has been joined by the Croats to help liberate Kupres, a very important area for them. The Muslims told them, "Come and get it," before conquering it. But it is not a war on the part of the Muslim Croatian federation. They are indeed united, but it is only a marriage of convenience between two parties that nevertheless still hate each other.

[Luppino] Is there any evidence or proof of increased Muslim military strength, despite the embargo?

[Helldorff] Yes. The quantity and quality of the weapons is increasing. They are very well equipped.

[Lupino] Who is arming them? The countries of the East, Croatia...

[Helldorff] It is difficult to say. Even local Serbian officers sell weapons to the Muslims. They kill each other, then, when there is a lull, they do business.

[Lupino] Now that you live permanently in Mostar, are you in favor of raising the embargo, or opposed to it?

[Helldorff] Such a decision would be very dangerous for Mostar too. Once the embargo has been lifted, the blue helmets will withdraw too: We are sure of it. And what we are trying to rebuild in this city will be lost. To arm the Muslims would mean submitting to the rationale of war.

[Luppino] What changes have there been in Mostar since you settled there?

[Helldorff] The city is mainly at peace, though the citizens do not believe it. They say: "We are sure it will resume." So they prefer to hold onto their money. The reconstruction of houses, stores, and schools is a burden on all of us. Local investors are doing nothing, because they are afraid.

[Luppino] How long will your mandate last?

[Helldorff] Two years, from 23 July this year.

[Luppino] What did you do first?

[Helldorff] We are coming to the end of the first stage, that is, physical support for the population—food, medial supplies, clothes, water, electricity, heating for the winter. East Mostar had no water, only the river. Then we moved on to reconstructing houses, schools, drains. Now we are trying to boost economic activities. Mostar used to have two major factories producing steel and helicopters. We want to start from there.

[Luppino] Is it possible to say that war will not break out again in Mostar?

[Helldorff] If war breaks out again outside, it will return here too. For the present the Serbs and Bosnians are fighting in the North, in the center, and around Sarajevo. If the Serbs were to decide on an all-out counterattack, they would not spare Mostar. For the present they are confining themselves to making their presence felt.

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[Luppino] Do you believe in the possibility of a Bosnia as a single state with three ethnic groups?

[Helldorff] That would be the best solution, but it is a long-term prospect. The Serbs have done so much harm that I see no possibility of a marriage of convenience among Croats, Muslims, and Serbs. My impression is that the Contact Group is inclined to consider the possibility—if the Bosnian Serbs were to agree to the partitioning plan—of a future confederation of their state with Milosevic's federal republic. This is challenged by the Muslims, but regarded favorably by the Croats.

[Luppino] What is the future of Sarajevo?

[Helldorff] Rather like Berlin after World War II.

UNHCR Renews Aid Shipments to Muslim-Held Towns

LD0811175794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zvornik, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on Tuesday resumed aid shipments to Muslim-held towns in eastern Bosnia, Bosnian Serb army sources said.

The sources said that after a routine check in the border town of Zvornik, a seven-truck UNHCR convoy carrying 52 metric tons of flour, canned beef, beans, sugar and salt, proceeded to the Bosnian Muslim-held town of Srebrenica about 40 km southeast of Zvornik.

The Bosnian Serb army said it was continuing to follow its standing policy of ensuring the safe passage of humanitarian aid through Serb territory.

The Serb sources said they expected more humanitarian aid shipments for Muslim towns to pass through Serb territory on Wednesday.

ICRC Delivers 2.5 Tons of Aid to Hospitals in Banja Luka

LD0811140094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1343 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—The International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] delivered Monday 2.5 tons medical supplies to hospitals in the Banja Luka region, the ICRC spokeswoman in Belgrade said Tuesday.

Spokeswoman Corrin Adams said more than 8,000 refugees had found shelter in this part of the Bosnian Serb Republic, fleeing their homes in the war zones of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Adams said according to an ICRC delegates' report, surgical supplies and heating were the two major problems in hospitals and public facilities in Banja Luka and nearby towns.

Adams said ICRC on Monday delivered surgical supplies for first aid and treatment of the wounded in Doboj, Banja Luka and Novi and, three days ago, to Kljuc, Sanski Most, Srbobran, Prijedor and Petrovac.

The delivery contains intravenous solutions, disinfectants and bandages, she said. Moreover, ICRC continually sends medicine for the chronically sick, she said.

Adams said ICRC had sent last week 300 blankets, soap, candles and 10 stoves to the town of Sipovo, 110 km west of Sarajevo.

Three hundred people, who fled their homes before the Muslim- Croat offensive against Bosnian Serbs on the Kupres plateau, central Bosnia, have found shelter in a school in Sipovo.

Adams said ICRC engineers were working round-the-clock in order to repair the central heating system in a hotel in Sipovo, where another group of several hundred refugees were accommodated.

She said ICRC delegates had brought blankets and articles for personal hygiene for about 5,000 refugees in Petrovac.

Assembly Adopts Work Report, Ends Session

AU0811224094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by several unidentified correspondents on the Federal Assembly Session in Sarajevo on 8 November]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the continuation of the session after a 60-minute recess, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic thanked the deputies for their support. After that, the Constituent Assembly adopted the report on the work of the government.

The deputies of the Constituent Assembly, regarding the innocent victims in Sarajevo and Tuzla today, sent a protest letter to the Security Council, the U.S. Congress, the parliaments of France, Britain, Germany, and Russia, and the European Parliament. The protest letter condemns the crimes of the Serbian aggressor and appeals to the international community to use all the means properly to protect the safe havens.

The deputies also passed a number of draft laws and concluded that all the texts offered can be used to implement high quality proposals that will be on the agenda of the next session of the Federal Assembly at the end of this month.

This was report by our reporting team on today's session of the Constituent Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, which completed the first part of the session shortly before 2200.

On the agenda of the Federal Assembly's session tomorrow [9 Nov] will be, among other things, the draft law on the war [word indistinct] and refugees, the draft law on amnesty, and the proposal that the Federation Constitution be amended. The essence of these changes is to extend the deadline for setting up the bodies of authority and for holding elections.

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Tudjman Receives Norwegian Parliament Speaker

LD0811150494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We are beginning our broadcast with a statement from the president's office:

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received Norwegian Parliament Speaker Kirsti Kolle Groendahl in the Presidential Palace today. Their talks focused on the possibilities for resolving the crisis in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Parliamentary Speaker Groendahl positively assessed the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and stressed that Norway was ready to offer assistance for the peaceful resolution of Croatia's occupied areas.

President Tudjman spoke about the genesis of the crisis and Croatia's peace efforts. He added that Serb extremists in the occupied areas have been using the presence of the peace-keepers for continuing the occupation and Cypriotization of Croatia in its own right. If reintegration of occupied areas does not begin within the envisaged time-scale we will have to suspend UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] mandate, President Tudjman said adding that Croatia guaranteed all civil and ethnic rights to the Serbs under international supervision.

Parliamentary Speaker Groendahl said she hoped Croatia's occupied territories would be reintegrated in a peaceful way.

The president's foreign policy advisor Zeljko Matic; Arne Lundby, Norwegian charge d'affaires in Croatia; and Bozidar Petrac, vice- chairman of the foreign affairs committee in the Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Deputies also attended the talks, says the statement issued today by the president's office.

Vojvodina Croat Delegation in Zagreb for Talks

LD0911114494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Ivo Sanader received a delegation of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Croats [DUVC] led by its chairman, Bela Tonkovic. The talks focussed on the position of Croats in the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the need for a comprehensive approach in resolving minority issues on the basis of reciprocity and the international criteria for protecting minorities.

The DUVC delegation reported on its participation, as a nongovernmental organization, in the CSCE conference in Budapest where the protection of minorities was under discussion. The representatives of the Vojvodina Croats stressed the importance of the need to grant equal treatment to all minorities and ethnic communities in the territory of former Yugoslavia and, in particular, within the framework of the peace process.

Ivo Sanader said that Croatia looks after all Croats and that the status of Croats in Serbia and Montenegro will be placed on the agenda of talks on normalizing Croat-Serb relations, or rather on mutual recognition.

Serb Krajina Assembly Session To Resume 10 Nov

LD0811141594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] is to resume its regular session on Thursday, 10 November.

The agenda includes a report on the work of the RSK government over the past six months and the military-political situation.

RSK's Mikelic Discusses Economic Cooperation

AU0711084294 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 94 p 7

[Report by M. Draskovic on interview with RSK prime minister Borislav Mikelic; place and date not given: "Closer to Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Our cooperation with the Montenegrin leadership, which I respect very much, has always been good. Even though business relations have been broken due to the war in Krajina, we shall develop the cooperation with Montenegrin firms because there are mutual interests and opportunities," Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], told POBJEDA.

"Although the RSK economy, due to the armed conflict, has been inactive for almost three years, thanks to the peace agreement with the Croats, which is being observed by both the sides to my greatest satisfaction, we have succeeded in reactivating production. We had to do that, because we cannot wait for aid from Serbia and Montenegro, which, to be honest, has never failed to come if circumstances allowed. We have been included in the joint payment system of the FRY, and we are making efforts to support the dinar, because [Yugoslav central bank governor] Avramovic's program suits us very much. Together with our three business banks, we are managing to keep up payments and maintain the hard currency system. We have already redeemed 120,000 metric tons of wheat. Industrial production is recovering, while the number of unemployed people in industry is increasing more and more [sentence as published]. All this has been made possible by the peace agreement, because we want to see our people working in factories, rather than in the trenches," prime minister Mikelic emphasizes, adding that the daily production of crude oil in the RSK has increased to 450 metric tons. "Our republic owns 540,000 hectares of land under high quality timber, which also makes it possible for us to start up the timber processing industry. In addition to this, we have 720,000 hectares of arable land in eastern Baranja, Slavonia, and Srem. Such land is a guarantee

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that we can produce a food surplus. The Belje food-processing plant, the Gavrilovic meat-processing plant, the Borovo plant, VUPIK [extension not known] and other firms, which are resuming business activities more and more successfully, guarantee a good state income that can meet all the needs of the RSK people," Mikelic emphasizes.

Commenting on the current political situation in the RSK, prime minister Mikelic says:

"We are abiding by the peace agreement with the Croats. We are aware of the fact that any people, including ours, has a right to self-determination. It is also clear to us that the international community no longer supports the war option, no matter which people it may concern. Therefore we have turned to ourselves, to industrial production, though without neglecting our defense system for a single moment. I see the future of our people precisely in production, self-defense, and the strengthening of democracy. The UN peace-keeping forces do not bother us. We are endeavoring to accomplish a lasting peace. We are endeavoring to establish economic cooperation with the Croats, because the better and the more extensive the cooperation is, the closer to peace we shall be," Mikelic says.

"Montenegrin economic cooperation may be very important. For instance, we can develop good reciprocal relations with the Obodin aluminum-processing plant and the salt works in Ulcinj. Our production, being on the rise, makes possible an ever-better living standard for the 430,000 citizens of the RSK. We have understood and accepted the fact that we can no longer be a burden on the FRY, which has always been generous to us, helping us as much as it could," RSK prime minister Mikelic says.

Radio Says RSK Serbs Mobilize, Demand Weapons

AU0811162894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] The military authorities in the so- called republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] have proclaimed a general mobilization. We have learned from UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] sources that all those of military age have been mobilized in Donji Lapac, Plitvice, Slunj, Korenica, and Udbina. The newly formed brigades of the aggressor army are transported daily in trucks over the Korenica and Udbina part of Pljesivica toward the lost territories around Grabez.

UNPROFOR confirms that the mobilization in the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina has been proclaimed after the great success of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on the Bihac front. In this way, the Serbs themselves are admitting their defeat. The Serbian radio stations on the occupied Croatian territories are only playing military marches, which is what they always do when things are going wrong on the ground.

One more final piece of information that we have learned from UNPROFOR. The mobilized Serbian troops are today again attempting to reach Bihac, Bosanska Krupa, and Bosanski Petrovac. For example, the situation is currently very tense at the UNPROFOR checkpoints in Slunj, Topusko, and Plitvice. The Serbs are namely demanding that UNPROFOR allow them to take heavy weaponry from the military warehouses which are now under the control of the UN troops.

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Gligorov: 'No Progress' in Geneva Discussions

AU0911105494 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by "S.J." on statement by President Gligorov following his return to Skopje from Geneva on 7 November: "We Have Always Demonstrated Goodwill"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a one-day stay at the headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva and after more than six hours of discussions with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and the special mediator in the Greek-Macedonian dispute, Cyrus Vance, President Gligorov and Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski returned to Skopje last night. In connection with the discussions, President Gligorov gave a special statement, in which he said:

"This afternoon, we had broad discussions with Secretary General Butrus-Ghali and with mediator Vance, which we also continued during the lunch that was organized by the secretary general. On that occasion, we presented our views on solving the disputing questions between us and Greece through dialogue and on reaching a basic agreement on a lasting solution for good neighborly relations. We have also presented our stances, which must be taken into consideration when we are talking about these relations, as it is the right of our people to promote its constitutional name on an international plan, and thus solve this question. Everything else will be subject to negotiations and a search for everything that is in the common interest. If one is interested in reaching an agreement, which we certainly are, one should always demonstrate goodwill and a readiness for actions that would represent an occasion for the other side to undertake actions of goodwill in order to reach an agreement as soon as possible. However, as you know, the embargo is still in force, as well as the veto on the access of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] to the CSCE, we are not yet able to use the financial means that have been dedicated by the European Union to Macedonia through the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, and Greece is imposing obstacles in the negotiations on economic and political cooperation between us and the European Union. Under these circumstances, we think that the other side should also demonstrate goodwill in order to reach an agreement that will be in the favor and interests of both sides. That is why my general conclusion is that there has been no progress in the discussions held so far. The general secretary and Cyrus Vance will inform the Greek side on the outcome of the discussions and on our stances, with the aim of proceeding with the discussions, because there is no other way to seek a solution for all the open questions. The Security Council will also be informed about all this."

Blames Greece

LD0711212494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1958 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] confirmed in Skopje this evening that "no progress" was made in Geneva today despite UN mediation in the dispute with Greece but said that he still supports the resumption of dialogue.

The Macedonian president reiterated his categorical standpoint that all nations have a sovereign right to decide on the name of their state and that this was done by the Constitution.

"Everything else can be the subject of negotiations," Gligorov said immediately after his return from Geneva at a news conference for domestic reporters. Foreign correspondents could not attend the conference.

Gligorov blamed the other side for the failure of UN mediation in Geneva, stressing that the FYROM wants to solve the dispute with Athens only through negotiations.

Gligorov pointed out that Greece "also has to show goodwill" and recalled that its trade embargo against Macedonia is still in place, that it was blocking Macedonia's full membership of the CSCE, and vetoing European Union financial aid as well as further economic and political cooperation with Brussels. [passage omitted]

Greek Claim on Drug Involvement Rejected

AU0911123294 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Nov 94 p 2

[Commentary by Dimitar Culev: "Statements That Have Already Been Heard"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Before the meeting between Gligorov and Ghali, the Greek side distributed a thesis on the great involvement of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] in the narcotics business... the only thing missing was a Greek plane to violate the Macedonian sky and to have the full scenario that has been repeated before every meeting of the Macedonian leadership with the world's politicians.

There is only one truth in the accusations of the Greek Minister Stilianos Papathemelis, that the "Governments of Turkey and Macedonia are producing drugs and that they are involved in smuggling: The timing of his words published in the Athens "I KATHIMERINI" was properly selected—just before the meeting of Gligorov with Ghali in Geneva. The only thing missing is a Greek military plane to violate "accidentally" the Macedonian air space so as to repeat the usual scenario whenever Macedonian politicians have a meeting in the world, discussing Macedonian-Greek relations.

The scenario with the planes that is miraculously missing this time was the usual practice in the past two to three years since the existence of the dispute with the southern neighbor. Let us recall: "An air penetration" as an integral part of the Greek foreign policy has been noticed before nearly all meetings with the 12 discussing the recognition of Macedonia, for instance, a few days after

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the announcement that Russia was going to recognize Macedonia, on 10 January last year, when Macedonia rejected new arbitration, on 6 December 1993 when the leading EEC members announced that they would accelerate the process of Macedonia's recognition before the Greek chairing of the European Union.

This time, before the meeting of the Macedonian President Gligorov with the UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, it was probably assessed that it would be sufficient if Macedonia was "accused" of narcotics trafficking in order to degrade Gligorov, in the Greeks' opinion, in the eyes of the Secretary General. Of course, that should result in Ghali's "antipathy" toward Gligorov and into sympathy for the Greek side, so as to give Greece a new, and more favorable position in the course and solution of the Macedonian-Greek negotiations and the present dispute.

Unfortunately, for Greece, of course, we would say that this time the mentioned minister for public order and peace, previously head of the Ministry for Northern Greece that was during his mandate transformed into the Ministry for Macedonia, did not show any inventiveness. By placing, who knows how many times before, the story about drugs, about the "profit" that the Macedonian government had by "easing' the work in the production and transport of drugs, he did nothing more than repeat "what has already been heard" that, for instance, "Alkaloid" [Macedonian pharmaceutical company] is producing hard drugs, that there are areas cultivated with narcotic plants in Krivolak [Macedonia], that beside the drug smuggling the arms smuggling is also flourishing.... Nothing but lies, and probably the Greeks themselves are becoming aware of them, because all of a sudden they started saying that Krivolak was given to the Americans to build a military base, after which they said that it was a nuclear waste store, then a narcotic-plant growing area with a complete factory and infrastructure for drugs production. There is something new in what Papathemelis said this time—he claimed that Macedonia was not the only suspect in the drugs deal, but that it was deeply involved in it with Turkey. Normally, this coincided with the present tension in relations between the two countries and the recent recommendation of Greece's partners in the European Union to stop "troubling" the Union with problems that are of a purely Greek nature. Probably it was in this context that Greece was called out, with the aim of getting some sympathy from the European partners for "Orthodox" Greece....

However, this "does not work" any more among European circles, which have probably had enough time and space to assess matters. A sufficient proof for this is Papathemelis's claim in the mentioned interview for "I KATHIMERINI" in which he was sorry to conclude that Greece was trying to persuade the EU partners to undertake "strong measures" against the two countries while Greece was chairing the Union. "However," Papathemelis said, "nobody wanted to listen...."

Legislative Assembly To Reconvene 19 Nov

AU0911113494 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Nov 94 pp 1,4

[Report by K. Cangova: "The Assembly Will Meet on 19 November"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The second multi-party parliament will most probably be constituted on 19 November (Saturday). This announcement, although not yet official, comes from the executive body. The timing can only be connected to the constitutional agenda of Article 63, which defines that the "newly elected Assembly has its constitutive session within a maximum of 20 days from the elections." Knowing that the Law on the Election of members of parliament provides for only two election rounds, and that the second round finished on 30 October, according to calculations, 19 November is exactly the 20th day after the elections. This is just one side of the interpretation, provided that the first and second parliamentary rounds have been completed. Namely, we know that 109 deputy seats were secured by parties and independent candidates in the elections in October. However, from one constituency no results arrived after the second round, and therefore we do not know whether we shall have a 110th member of parliament or whether there will be new voting there, while in 10 other constituencies new voting has been scheduled for 13 November. In six of them the second election round has to be held for the first time, while in four of them there will be new voting because the second round was annulled. In effect, the elections have not been completed in 11 constituencies.

Nevertheless, the optimists believe that even in such an incomplete situation it is still possibility to keep the announced term for the constitution of the new parliament. Provided that the "third election round" is better prepared and organized, provided that the results are known one day after the elections, and provided that possible complaints are settled in due time. It also depends on the electoral commissions in the constituencies that have to prepare the material as soon as they have received it from the polling stations, but also on the State Electoral Commission. If we remember the way this electoral chain functioned particularly during the first round, it is almost impossible to believe that all matters will be settled in only five days, so as to have the complete number of 120 members of parliament that are needed for the constitution of the Assembly. There are also other considerations in the case that the results of the 10 constituencies are postponed to eternity or if further voting becomes necessary 14 days later, that is on 27 November. In such a case the elected members of parliament may start their Assembly work aiming to avoid any delays and blockades in the numerous projects that we have been waiting for so impatiently. The complaints will be put in process, and whoever is elected will have his mandate verified. This is also possible because it has not been stated anywhere that the Assembly must be constituted as a whole.

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However, regardless of different opinions, and without discussing the electoral outcome, we would like to recall that a parliamentary constitutive session is summoned by the chairman of the previous assembly. The session will be opened by the oldest member of parliament and he will chair it until a new chairman of the Assembly is elected. Nevertheless, before coming to the electoral procedure, the oldest member of parliament has the duty to propose members of a Verifying Commission. This is the agenda of the provisional Rule Book, used by the first parliament, in which issues concerning the function of the constitution and the work of the Assembly have been arranged. The Commission, composed of a president and four members must prepare, in an interval given after its election, a report on the verification of the mandate of the members of parliament. As we know, there are nine political parties that have members in the new parliament. The greatest number comes from the three parties that form the Alliance for Macedonia, that is the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia], the LP [Liberal Party], and the SPM [Socialist Party of Macedonia], that is 89 members of parliament, and this figure will probably be greater after the repeated elections on 13 November. For now, the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] has eight deputy seats, the NDP [People's Democratic Party] three, the PCER [Party for Full Emancipation of Romanies], the DPM [Democratic Party of Macedonia, in Tetovo], the SDPM [Social Democratic Party of Macedonia], and the DPT [Democratic Party of Turks]-PDA [Party for Democratic Action]-Islamic Road have one each. There are also five deputy seats secured by independent candidates in the new parliament. After the end of the whole procedure of verification of the mandate the members of parliament will take a solemn oath. Upon a proposal of at least 10 members of parliament another commission will be elected—the Commission on elections and nominations (it is composed of a president and 12 members) which, according to an inter-party agreement, will come out with a proposal for Chairman of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Assembly. A group of 20 members of parliament can also propose a candidate for chairman, but only one. The chairman is elected by public ballot, but if it is decided otherwise at the Assembly session, it is also possible to do it by secret ballot.

The chairman is elected by the majority votes of the members of the parliament for four years. Probably a previous agreement has already been made or will be made among the parties on the future chairman. One can safely say that present Chairman Stojan Andov will be given a second mandate, but there are speculations that there are members of the SDSM that are interested in getting this position, that is, the present vice chairman Tito Petkovski. It is not known how many vice chairmen the parliament will have, and from which parties, but this issue will not be on the agenda of the constitutive session.

If everything proceeds in order, the same day, that is 19 November, there will be another session in the afternoon. The President of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov will then give a solemn oath to the new parliament and then he will address the parliament and the public in the country.

Signs of 1st Post-Election 'Interethnic Dispute'

LD0511221994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 5 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—Support given by the Tetovo City Assembly, a political stronghold of the Albanian ethnic minority in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] to the initiative for setting up an Albanian university is a sign of the first interethnic dispute after the elections in FYROM, Skopje political observers claim.

Yesterday, the Tetovo assembly supported the idea of setting up the first Albanian university in FYROM, after Macedonian deputies walked out of the session in protest. Not heeding objections that only the FYROM Government and parliament are competent to decide on the issue, Albanian deputies in Tetovo called on their colleagues from Debar and Gostivar to join them. Albanians are the majority population in these two towns in western FYROM. [passage omitted]

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Ljubljana Proposes New Round of Talks With Italy

LD0811224994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—Slovenia on Tuesday [8 Nov] officially proposed to Italy another round of talks on the reviewing the Osimo Accords and other issues. The talks also dwelled on the status of North Adriatic peninsula of Istria and then return of property to the Italians who had been expelled from Istria during and after World War II.

The Slovenian Government said Tuesday that 'the Rome-Ljubljana talks so far have ended in a deadlock, so that the so-called 'Aquileian phase', the latest round of searching for a compromise, has collapsed.'

Italian Foreign Minister Antonio Martino said Tuesday that Italy regarded the Aquileian Accord as the only realistic basis for normalization of relations with Slovenia. Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek on Monday invited Martino to visit Ljubljana next week.

The Italian Government warned Slovenia again that with the break- up of the former Yugoslavia, the Osimo Accords had lost significance and that open questions would be dealt with along with consideration for Italy's increasingly frequent demands that the 'historical mistake' of joining Istria to the former Yugoslavia be rectified.

Italy was standing in the way of Slovenia's joining the European Union and demanded Slovenia return property and other immovables to the post-war Italian refugees, something the Slovene authorities were refusing to do.

Kucan Meets With Saudi Islamic Affairs Minister

LD0511125994 Riyadh SPA in English 1236 GMT 5 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubjana, Slovenia, Nov 5, SPA—Slovenia's President Milan Kucan received here yesterday the visiting Saudi Minister of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Call and Guidance Dr. 'Abdallah al-Turki and his accompanying delegation. Dr. al-Turki conveyed to President Kucan the greetings of custodian of the two holy mosques King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz.

For his part, President Kucan asked Dr. al-Turki to convey his greetings to the Saudi monarch.

Meanwhile, Dr. al-Turki and the accompanying delegation conferred with Slovenia's prime minister and reviewed with him issues of mutual interest. Later, Dr. al-Turki visited the camp of refugees in Ljubjana where he was welcomed by a number of officials.

On the other hand, Slovenia's Foreign Minister Ejis Cloub [name and title as received] reiterated the keenness of his country in fostering its relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

"Realizing the importance of the kingdom, we are looking forward to establish diplomatic relations with it," Cloub told a press conference here yesterday. Cloub said he had reviewed with the Saudi delegation the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina and reiterated the condemnation of his country of the Serb aggression. "No peace will be realized in Europe before the settlement of the Bosnian problem," he said. Cloub expressed appreciation for the stand of the kingdom towards the recognition of the United Nations with Slovenia.

For his part, Dr al-Turki expressed happiness over the desire of the officials in Slovenia to enhance relations of their country with the kingdom.

"Our visit to Slovenia has enabled us to get acquainted with its stand on the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the injustices befallen on its people," he said. "The president and officials of Slovenia have underscored the importance of settling the problem of Bosnia- Herzegovina," he added.

Defense Ministry Official Bogataj Leaves Post

AU0811083794 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 29 Oct 94 p 2

["I.G." report: "Major General Bogataj Turning Businessman"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 28 October—As of 1 November, the current director of the 1st Directorate (for development and education) Lojze Bogataj, a lieutenant colonel by rank and a major general by position, is leaving the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Slovenia. He will leave the post, which equals that of a state secretary in status, by mutual consent and with a resignation filled on his own initiative. [passage omitted]

Drug Addiction Reportedly Rising

95P20133A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 24 Oct 94 p 20

[Article by vi: "Not Enough Valuable Data"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 24 October—The number of heroin addicts in Slovenia—heroin is considered the most dangerous of the illegal drugs—is only approximate. Experts put their number at around 5,000, of whom about 2,000 are considered regular users. Slovenia does not methodically collect data on the consumption of illegal drugs. There are very few available data for the past year, and what is available is not up on a par with international standards. The amount of confiscated heroin (20,028 grams), cocaine (2,814 grams), and marijuana (103,664 grams) shows an increase over 1992. As of April of this year, two intravenous drug users have been diagnosed with AIDS, while two males and two females from the same group have allegedly become infected with AIDS. Nine young people died because of drug overdoses last year. [passage omitted]

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Federal

Jovanovic Cited on Progress of Talks With Croatia

LD0811180394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic told journalists at the Federal Assembly today that the assessment that nothing has been achieved in talks between Croatian and Yugoslav delegations cannot be accepted without reserve.

The Yugoslav foreign minister said one of the results of the visit was that "continuity was maintained and the need and interest of the two sides to be in contact and continue negotiations was confirmed."

Jovanovic went on to say that the two sides agreed it was in their mutual interest that proposals put forward by the Yugoslav delegation should be examined and jointly adopted. "The only difference was in the fact that our side was in favor of these issues, such as restoring civil aviation and phone links, being examined and adopted immediately, while the Croatian side continued insisting on the so-called package solution," Jovanovic said.

The minister added that this was a methodological difference which is not minor, rather one of substance, but one which, as he said, did not negate the fact that both sides have positively assessed the possibility of arriving at such agreements.

Jovanovic said that he does not know of any indications that the forthcoming visit to Belgrade of Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, might be postponed, or that it would not take place. "On the contrary, we parted saying we would meet in Belgrade, as we are preparing that meeting," he added.

Asked whether the Yugoslav side is ready to make concessions regarding what it offered in Zagreb, Jovanovic said they had not discussed any concessions, but progress in the process of normalization. "We expressed our interest in the progress of that process, but it is always necessary to have two parties to take any steps forward. We hope that the feeling of the need to live, to maintain the impulse of life, will win over dogmatic approaches and that by pursuing this path we will arrive at solutions for key issues," Jovanovic stressed.

'Essential Differences' Remain

LD0811142194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1403 GMT 8 Nov 94

[By diplomatic editor Stevan Cordas]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Croatian ministerial talks on a normalization of relations, which opened last week in Zagreb, should continue here in a few days. The first round of talks ended without any palpable results.

Foreign Ministers Vladislav Jovanovic of Yugoslavia and Mate Granic of Croatia agreed on settling less important questions, as Zagreb said, such as missing persons, civilian air traffic, sports and culture exchanges, etc.

However, essential differences remain. Belgrade and Zagreb hold different stands on the process of normalization. Zagreb insists on a global approach and wants Yugoslavia to recognize Croatia in its borders within former Yugoslavia. That would mean recognizing the republic of Serb Krajina as a part of Croatia.

In the former Yugoslavia, the borders between the six republics were established by the communists as administrative, and not state borders.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed in 1991 in regions where Serbs are the predominant population in response to Croatia's war of secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and its elimination of Serb national rights from its Constitution.

However, Belgrade calls on the March 1992 Vance plan, to which Yugoslavia and Croatia are signatories. The plan explicitly states that no political solution can be prejudged before a final agreement is reached between Knin, the center of the republic of Serb Krajina, and Zagreb. Yugoslavia wants to settle what can be settled objectively at this point and embark on the process of normalization step by step.

Naturally these essential differences will prevail in the continuation of the initiated process on normalization. This is indicated in many official and unofficial comments in Zagreb. The atmosphere in Croatia ahead of the talks is that Yugoslavia should be pressured. It appears even that Zagreb hopes the announced talks will not continue. Croatia is trying to set the rules of the game to ensure a better negotiating position for itself.

This is evident from the almost synchronized actions between Croatian media and politicians ahead of the Belgrade meeting.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is setting firm deadlines not only to Knin but the United Nations as well. Foreign Minister Granic is setting certain conditions. The press backs it all, telling its political establishment: "Do not let Yugoslavia trick you."

Analysts in Belgrade have said that behind Zagreb's firm stand was the naive belief that Croatia was currently "in the most favorable situation" since its secession, and that Yugoslavia had no space for diplomatic maneuvers. Granic confirmed this on Croatian Television Monday evening.

Some believe that Zagreb is backed in this firm stand by its closest European partner—Germany, but Zagreb and Bonn seem to have forgotten that they are not alone in the international arena.

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Statement Issued on Former Republics' Recognition

LD0811232594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2248 GMT 8 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government said Tuesday it would recognize the former Yugoslav republics only after they stopped denying Yugoslavia as a subject of international law.

The federal government's statement was made in response to a question raised by Yugoslav parliament's upper house Deputy Milinko Gazdic, who asked whether the Yugoslav Government recognized the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav republics.

The Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro continued as subject of international law in the steps of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after four former republics—Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation, the last three forcibly.

The Yugoslav Government's response, communicated to the Yugoslav parliament, said that in the case of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina a definite political settlement between the directly involved parties on these territories must first be reached.

The Serbs set up their own states in their ethnic and historical lands inber 19ia and Bosnia-Herzegovina after the two former Yugoslav republics unilaterally seceded from the former Yugoslav federation.

The Serbs in Croatia set up their own state, the republic of Serb Krajina, in 1991 after Croatia unilaterally seceded from the former Yugoslav federation and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution.

The Bosnian Serbs set up their own state, the Bosnian Serb republic, in April 1992 after western countries ignored their wishes and, [words indisinct] the Muslim-Croat coalition, recognized independence to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

UNHCR: Agreement Eases Aid Supplies to Bosnia

LD0811134094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1326 GMT 8 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—A recent agreement with Yugoslavia has eased the supply of relief aid to Bosnia, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' spokeswoman Yoko Nishimura said Tuesday.

An agreement was signed on Nov. 4 between the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro, the civilian mission to Yugoslavia of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Under the agreement, the UNHCR will be able to send to Bosnia construction materials for refugee camps it is erecting in Kravica, Srebrenica, Sokolac, Drinjaca and Gorazde, Nishimura said. She said that almost 140 tonnes of construction materials should be supplied to these localities in the course of next week.

The agreement provides for the opening of all border passes between Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb republic, with the aim of facilitating the supply of humanitarian aid to the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, ravaged by civil war.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Aug. 4 closed the border with the Bosnian Serb republic, except for relief aid supplies, after Bosnian Serbs failed to accept the plan for the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina drafted by the "Contact Group."

The UNHCR will send mattresses, blankets, sleeping-bags, heaters, candles, sanitary goods to refugee camps in the Bosnian Serb republic and Muslim-held areas in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina. It will also send fuel for distributing relief aid in the field and for heating hospitals, schools and refugee camps, Nishimura said.

Since the border on the Drina River has been blocked, humanitarian missions have been able to supply only food, medicine and clothes to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreement with the competent Yugoslav authorities and the civilian mission headed by General Bopellnas will enable the UNHCR convoys to take construction materials into Bosnia-Herzegovina which are necessary for repairing damaged houses before the winter.

Protest to France Over Attack on Cultural Center

LD0811202594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia on Tuesday lodged an official protest with France over the latest terrorist attack on the Yugoslav cultural center in Paris. The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry presented the protest note to French Embassy Charge d'Affaires Alaiv Rouillard.

The Yugoslav cultural center in Paris was demolished and the center's front door and window smashed on Sunday night. The French police, which immediately opened an investigation, issued no official statement about the identity of the perpetrators.

A group of Bosnian Muslims and their French supporters attacked the Yugoslav cultural center in Paris last April.

This is the latest in a series of attacks on Yugoslavia's diplomatic and other offices in France. The Yugoslav embassy building in Paris was painted red last February, as well as the Yugoslav cultural center in Paris on two other occasions.

The Yugoslav Embassy in Paris had officially protested with competent French ministries after each assault,

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demanding adequate protection of Yugoslavia's diplomatic and other offices in France. The French authorities every time assured Yugoslavia they would do everything in their power to prevent such incidents.

Envoy: UNSC Should Not Be Biased on Bosnia

LD0911112794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1053 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Security Council [UNSC] should not be biased in resolving the Bosnian conflict if it really wants to stop the war there, Yugoslav Ambassador Dragomir Djokic said.

The Yugoslav ambassador to the United Nations (?spoke) at a Security Council debate on the situation in Bosnia and the U.S.-backed draft resolution on the exemption of Bosnian Muslims from the arms ban on former Yugoslavia on Tuesday evening.

Djokic said Yugoslavia had supported all peace proposals of the international community. He said it would persevere in that course and that accusations voiced by certain speakers during the debate about its involvement in the Bosnian war were unfounded and false.

Djokic urged the complete lifting of the sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro which he said would create conditions for a speedy, just and lasting peace.

Djokic explained that the conflict in Bosnia was caused by its forcible secession from Yugoslavia and its premature recognition by the international community against the will and interests of Bosnian Serbs. Serbs in Bosnia did not wish to secede from Yugoslavia, he said. They were the only nation to which the international community denied the right to self-determination, pushing them under Muslim-Croat domination, Djokic said.

Djokic further said the Security Council had from the very beginning of the crisis in former Yugoslavia taken a one-sided approach to Bosnian Serbs. The Security Council singled out Serbs as the only side guilty of crimes, all the time ignoring similar actions committed by Muslims and Croats, just as it ignores the latest Muslim offensives in Bosnia, Djokic said. If the Security Council continues to behave in that fashion, it risks not only to lose its credibility, but even to become fully responsible for the escalation of the civil war and its possible spreading over the entire region, the Yugoslav ambassador said.

Djokic said the Bosnian Muslim leadership, despite the stories about a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, in fact wants to create an Islamic state, which is contrary to the interests of Serbs and Croats in Bosnia. Exempting Bosnian Muslims from the arms embargo and threatening Bosnian Serbs with NATO air strikes can only lead to a further escalation of conflicts and reduce prospects for peace, Djokic said.

He said Muslims were constantly taking advantage of protected zones for attacks and provocations, but that NATO was persistent in avoiding taking any corresponding measures against them, under pressure of the United States.

The international community's policy of double standards is evident in the fact that the Muslim-Croat federation was enabled the possibility to confederate with Croatia, while Bosnian Serbs did not get clear guarantees to confederate with Serbia, Djokic said.

Yugoslavia is ready to accept any solution on which the warring sides agree on the basis of full equality and respect of the legitimate rights of all three Bosnian peoples, he said.

Along these lines, Yugoslavia is ready to recognize the former Yugoslav republics after all outstanding issues are resolved in talks between the interested sides, he said.

After the Yugoslav ambassador's speech, the debate was adjourned until Wednesday. It had heard 23 speakers. The main characteristic of the debate was that only two of the ten Security Council members who took the floor were in favor of the U.S.-sponsored resolution—Pakistan and Oman. Of the other speakers, Islamic countries mostly supported the draft resolution, while most European countries were against it.

Yugoslav Cooperation With UNESCO Urged

LD0811212494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1907 GMT 8 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia should take part in all UNESCO programs and projects as soon as possible, special adviser to UNESCO Director-General Luis Ramallo said here on Tuesday.

Ramallo, who in Yugoslavia since Monday, met Tuesday with Yugoslav Minister of Development, Science and the Environment Janko Radulovic to discuss restoring cooperation.

The U.N. Security Council in May 1992 imposed comprehensive sanctions on Yugoslavia for alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Rewarding Yugoslav peace efforts, the Security Council in October suspended sanctions in the field of air traffic, culture and sports.

Pointing to the consequences of the sanctions on Yugoslav science, education and environmental protection, Radulovic said Yugoslavia was ready to renew and intensify cooperation with UNESCO in all fields which are in the mandate of this world institution.

In talks with the president of the Yugoslav Government Commission for Education and Cultural Cooperation with Foreign Countries, Margit Savovic, Ramallo praised Yugoslavia for its efforts to provide for the refugees.

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He also offered UNESCO's assistance in the field of education of children from the war-torn areas of the former Yugoslavia.

There are now more than 400,000 registered refugees from the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Pointing to the consequences of the sanctions, especially in fields which are in UNESCO's sphere of interest, Savovic said Yugoslavia receives only nine percent of the aid which is coming to the former Yugoslavia.

During talks on problems of education of the Albanian minority in the Serbian southern province of Kosovo and Metohija, Ramallo said dialogue was the only way for resolving problems.

He expressed UNESCO's stand that difficulties in education should not be linked to politics and that problems in Kosovo and Metohija are Yugoslavia's and Serbia's internal affair.

Prime Minister on Causes of 'Economic Hardship'

LD0811172694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1550 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—International sanctions and nearby war were the main causes of economic hardship in Yugoslavia in 1993, Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said Tuesday.

Speaking in the lower house of the Yugoslav parliament during a debate on the balance sheet for the 1993 federal budget, Kontic said the flood of refugees and the costs of providing humanitarian aid to the Bosnian Serbs had affected the domestic economic situation.

The United Nations Security Council in May 1992 imposed comprehensive sanctions on the Yugoslav federation of Serbia and Montenegro for alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

There are now more than 400,000 registered refugees from the former Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia living in Yugoslavia.

Kontic told parliament that Security Council Resolution 820, adopted April 1993, further tightened the blockade and led to spiralling prices. The debate on the 1993 financial report will be followed by a vote on a motion of non-confidence put forward against the government by the opposition Serbian Radical Party. The Radical Party opposes the government's August decision to close Yugoslavia's border with the Bosnian Serb republic to everything but humanitarian aid.

About 70 members of parliament have so far said they will speak on the motion.

Draft Annual Financial Statement Withdrawn

LD0811221094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2040 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic on Tuesday said the government was withdrawing the 1993 budget draft annual financial statement from parliamentary procedure.

Sainovic was speaking to the deputies of the Yugoslav parliament's Chamber of Citizens.

In the Tuesday discussion on the 1993 federal budget annual financial statement most of the opposition deputies urged its rejection.

Opposition Serbian Radical Party deputies said the government had spurred on inflation by its decisions on the budget valuation and announced they would not vote for the document.

Democratic Party deputies denied a claim by Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic that, in addition to the international sanctions and war in the neighborhood, the federal parliament was also responsible for last year's inflation.

The Democratic Party deputies said the government was responsible for runaway inflation in 1993. They said there was no inflation in Yugoslavia this year despite the fact that the international sanctions were still in force.

The Yugoslav monthly inflation rate reached 300 million percent in December 1993.

The economic recovery program, launched in late January 1994, slashed inflation down to nearly zero, among other things, by pegging the dinar one-on-one to the German mark and introducing hard currency and gold backing.

Replying to the Democratic Party deputies, Kontic said he had been misinterpreted and that he did not say the parliament was responsible for last year's inflation, but that it did not work when it should have combated inflation.

Serbia

Owen, Stoltenberg To Meet With Milosevic

LD0911122294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, arrived in Belgrade today where, as announced in the Palace of Nations in Geneva yesterday, they will be received by Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic.

The Geneva secretariat of the conference on former Yugoslavia has not specified the issues to be discussed by the two co-chairmen and President Milosevic. It was simply said that "further initiatives" for resolving the crisis in the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] will be discussed, but without any explanation what is meant by this. [passage omitted]

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It has been learned unofficially that after their talks with Milosevic, Owen and Stoltenberg will travel to Zagreb.

Milosevic Receives Cypriot Parliamentary Speaker

LD0811133794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1157 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, today received the speaker of the Cypriot parliament, Alexis Galanos, with whom he had cordial and friendly talks.

The office of the President of the Republic announced that the guest from Cyprus conveyed to President Milosevic his people's support for Yugoslavia's policy of peace and their sincere wishes for the comprehensive development and prosperity of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

It was said during the meeting, in which views were exchanged on topical issues concerning the promotion and expansion of bilateral relations between the two countries, that Cyprus and Yugoslavia advocated equality among states and peoples, as well as the resolution of open issues in their relations without foreign interference. In this respect they particularly underscored the importance of respecting the legitimate rights of all nations, as well as the creation of conditions for the realization of their inalienable rights in a peaceful and democratic way, which precludes policies of pressure and force in international relations.

The meeting was also attended by Pavlos Hadjitofis, Cypriot ambassador to Yugoslavia, and Goran Milinovic, the head of the president's office.

Electricity Board Announces Power Cuts

AU0811164594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Interview with Bogdan Djurdjevic, deputy marketing director of Electricity Board of Serbia, by Marinela Raznjatovic in Belgrade on 8 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Raznjatovic] Tell us what concrete steps will be taken by the Electricity Board concerning electricity cuts today?

[Djurdjevic] Today from 1600 to 2200 there will be cuts in the supplies of electricity to consumers because—of all the generators that dropped out of the grid yesterday—two of the 300-megawatt generators, one in the Kostolac B thermal power station and one in the Kosovo B thermal power station, have still not been reintegrated into the system. On top of that, repair work is still under way on two 300-megawatt generators in the Nikola Tesla A thermal power station in Obrenovac, so that of the 5,360 megawatts that the thermal power stations produce, 1,200 megawatts are out of the grid owing to repair work and damage.

[Raznjatovic] So that means that effectively 22 percent of the thermal power stations are out of service.

[Djurdjevic] Yes, of the overall power of the thermal power stations.

[Raznjatovic] [Passage omitted] I have to say that a number of citizens believe that these cuts are the result of your failure to get the price of electricity that you wanted. Is that so?

[Djurdjevic] Absolutely not. These are purely technical, technological problems in the energy supplying system. As we said, yesterday some 900 megawatts of electricity dropped out of the grid in the thermal power stations, while the day before another 600 megawatts had dropped out. That means that all together 1,500 megawatts were out of the grid yesterday, and 600 megawatts under repair. So 2,100 megawatts, that is, 43 percent of the capacity of the thermal power stations was out of service yesterday. Therefore, with so much of the grid out there has been no way to keep the electricity supplies to meet the level of consumption, which was expected to be about 105 million kWh yesterday.

[Raznjatovic] What can one expect over the next few days?

[Djurdjevic] Intensive measures have been taken to repair the damage to the two generators in the Kostolac B thermal power station and the Kosovo B thermal power station, so tomorrow, that is, in two days' time, we expect that these two generators will be reintegrated into the system, and that the situation will improve. However, the Electricity Board is still appealing to the consumers to use electricity sparingly, particularly in the afternoon, and that all those who use electricity for heating will do so at night from 2200 to 0700 in the morning, when it is much easier on the electricity system.

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarians Protest Settling of Serbs

LD0811230294 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2000 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidium of the VMSZ [Federation of Hungarians in Vojvodina] has protested in a communique against the intention of the Serb leadership to settle in Vojvodina Serbs who have fled from Bosnia.

According to the communique, the VMSZ agrees that those who have fallen on hard times must be helped, but it does not consider it to be correct that, under the pretext of assistance, damage is caused to others and the international norms on receiving and accomodating refugees are ignored. The VMSZ stresses in the communique that according to these norms, it is forbidden to change the nationality composition of the particular region. According to the communique, the ethnic composition of the Vojvodina has been forcefully changed several times over the past 70 years and as a result the proportion of Hungarians has been reduced from 34 to 17 percent.

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